

Public Administration

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Summer Conference, 1933

THE Summer Conference of the Institute of Public Administration will be held in University College, Oxford, on 7th to 10th July, 1933. The Chair will be taken by Sir E. D. Simon, M.I.C.E.

The following papers will be discussed:—

Friday, 7th July.

THE PLACE OF THE INSPECTOR IN RELATION TO CENTRAL AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES. (Two Sessions. 10.30 a.m. and 2.30 p.m.)

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Mr. J. H. Rothwell, C.B.E. „ 250

Saturday, 8th July.

SALESMANSHIP IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE—SCOPE AND TECHNIQUE. (One Session. 10.30 a.m.)

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Mr. Harold Whitehead, B.B.A., F.I.I.A. „ 267

Monday, 10th July.

PLANNING IN THE PUBLIC SERVICES IN RELATION TO CHANGING ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS. (Two Sessions. 10.30 a.m. and 2.30 p.m.)

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Note.—The Sessions of the Conference are private and will not, therefore, be open to the Press.

The Place of the Inspector in Relation to Central and Local Authorities

By Sir MALCOLM DELEIVINGNE, K.C.B., K.C.V.O.

[*Paper to be discussed at the Summer Conference of the Institute of Public Administration, Oxford, July, 1933*]

INSPECTORS, if one is to judge by much present-day talk in Parliament and outside, are not a popular body! But after nearly 40 years' experience of their work in many different fields, I feel no need to deal with the subject before us to-day in any apologetic spirit. No doubt we all individually dislike being inspected, but collectively, as members of a community, we are well aware that we could not do without inspectors. There is perhaps no class of the community on which we are more dependent for the smooth running of the social machine. Our critics say that consistency is not a strong point in the opinions of the British—and it is certainly true that while on the one hand a favourite objection to any new measure of social improvement is that it will involve creating at great expense and letting loose on the community a fresh "horde" of inspectors, on the other hand there is a constant stream of demands for the introduction of new laws and regulations to ensure the comfort, amenities, &c., of our daily life.

The Home Office has a greater range of miscellaneous duties than any other Department, and employs inspectors for a number of different purposes. The most important of these are the inspection of—

1, Factories; 2, Police Forces; 3, Home Office Schools for Delinquent Children; 4, Manufacture of and Trade in Explosives; 5, Experiments on Animals, commonly (but to a great extent erroneously) styled Vivisection; 6, Manufacture of and Trade in Dangerous Drugs; 7, Prisons; 8, Inebriate Retreats; 9, Aliens. Until the creation of the Mines Department, the Home Office was also responsible for the inspection of mines and quarries.

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It will be seen that the purpose of inspection is not the same in regard to all these matters. In the case of factories, its primary purpose is twofold: (a) to prevent certain things being done which the State regards as harmful, such as working for excessive hours; (b) to secure a minimum standard of safety, health and welfare in the conditions under which the millions of our workers in factories are employed. In the case of (2) and (3) the purpose is to secure the maintenance of a standard of efficiency, on which the Government grant-in-aid is made to depend. In the case of (7), where inspection might seem to provide an answer to the old question—*Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?*, inspection is really supervision by the Home Office of its own staff. (9) is in a class by itself.

I venture to say that the subject proposed for our consideration—the place of the Inspector in relation to Central and Local Authorities—is a little vague. Is it intended to mean the relation of the “Inspector,” whether employed by a Government Department or by a Local Authority, to the authority employing him? Or is it intended to include what in some of the Home Office work is an important matter, viz., the relation of the Government Inspector to the Local Authorities? I have taken it that the latter point is at any rate not excluded, and shall have something to say about it.

It would be an interesting digression to consider in this connection what are the considerations which have led Parliament to entrust the duty of inspection in some matters to a Central Government Department and in others, not dissimilar in character, to the Local Authorities—but this is another question and would take us outside the limits of our subject.

I take it also that we are not concerned, except perhaps incidentally, with such questions as the organization of the inspectorate, or the qualifications, &c., required in the inspectors.

The Home Office Inspectorate which is the most important by reason of the wide range and complexity of its duties and its numbers, and is also the oldest—it celebrates its centenary this year—is the Factory Inspectorate, and I shall take that mainly but not wholly as the text for my remarks.

The Factory Inspectorate has gone through a long process of development; it began as a small body of four inspectors who divided the United Kingdom between them. Their function was to see that the few and simple provisions relating to the hours, and some other conditions, of employment of children and young persons in the textile factories of the country, which were contained in the Act of 1833, were carried out. The reasons for their appointment are set out in Section 17 of the Act:—

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“ And whereas by an Act, intituled ‘ An Act for the Preservation of the Health and Morals of Apprentices and others employed in Cotton and other Mills and Cotton and other Factories,’ passed in the Forty-second Year of the Reign of His late Majesty George the Third, it was amongst other things provided, that the Justices of the Peace for every County or Place in which such Mill was situated should appoint yearly Two Persons not interested in or in any way connected with such Mills or Factories in such County to be Visitors of such Mills or Factories, which Visitors so appointed were empowered and required by the aforesaid Act to enter such Factories at any time they might think fit, and examine and report in writing whether the same were conducted according to the Laws of the Realm, and also to direct the adoption of such sanitary Regulations as they might, on advice, think proper: And whereas it appears that the provisions of the said Act with relation to the appointment of Inspectors were not duly carried into execution, and that the Laws for the Regulation of the Labour of Children in Factories have been evaded, partly in consequence of the want of appointment of proper Visitors or Officers whose special duty it was to enforce their execution; be it therefore enacted, That upon the passing of this Act it shall be lawful for His Majesty by Warrant under His Sign Manual to appoint during His Majesty’s Pleasure four persons to be Inspectors of Factories and Places where the labour of children and young persons under eighteen years of age is employed, and in the case of the death or dismissal of any of them to appoint another in the place of such deceased Inspector, which said several Inspectors shall carry into effect the Powers, Authorities, and Provisions of the present Act; and such Inspectors or any of them are hereby empowered to enter any factory or mill, and any school attached or belonging thereto, at all times and seasons, by day or by night, when such mills or factories are at work, and having so entered to examine therein the children and any other person or persons employed therein, and to make inquiry respecting their condition, employment, and education; and such Inspectors or any of them are hereby empowered to take or call to their aid in such examination and inquiry such persons as they may choose, and to summon and require any person upon the spot or elsewhere to give evidence upon such examinations and inquiry, and to administer to such person an oath.”

To-day the Inspectorate is a highly organised force, numbering over two hundred, with its specialised branches for medical, electrical and engineering problems, and a very important annexe in the shape

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of the Home Office Industrial Museum—a permanent exhibition in London of the best appliances and methods for promoting safety, health and welfare in our factory industries.

In describing the relations of the Home Office Inspectorate to the Department, I will follow the four headings which have been suggested to me, namely:—

1. Compliance with the law.
2. Collection and dissemination of information and experience.
3. Relations with the Inspected.
4. Advice to Department regarding development of policy.

1. *Compliance with the Law.* This heading, as will be seen from my preliminary remarks, is not wide enough to cover all the types of Home Office Inspection. The duties of the Inspectors of Constabulary, for example, are to see whether the Police Forces under the control of the local authorities are maintained in a state of efficiency enabling them to qualify for the Government grant; the Explosives Inspectors have important duties in regard to the licensing of explosives factories and determination of the safety precautions to be observed.

The Inspectors are the executive agents which the Central Administration uses in giving effect to the policy of Parliament. Parliament in its statutes may, for the benefit of the community, in relation to any given subject, take one of several courses. It may lay down positive and precise requirements which may be either negative, prohibiting certain things to be done, or positive, enjoining that certain things shall be done; for example, a prohibition that children under a certain age shall not be employed, or an injunction that walls shall be limewashed at certain specified intervals. Or it may lay down in general terms a standard to be reached, as, for example, that sufficient ventilation shall be maintained in factories, and leave it to the Department to take whatever steps may be necessary to secure the desired result. Or again, it may give wide powers to the Minister to make regulations in regard to certain matters, such as the safety or health of workers engaged in dangerous trades. All these different methods have been followed by Parliament in the Factory Acts. The requirements, then, which the Inspectors have to see carried out, will be contained in the Acts of Parliament, or in Orders or Regulations, made under the authority of those Acts. In carrying them out they act under the directions of the Central Department, and detailed instructions are laid down for their guidance.

Uniformity in the application of the law as between individual and individual, district and district, is one of the essentials of a system of inspection. When the law lays down a definite require-

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ment in precise terms no great variation in the application of the law to the circumstances of particular cases can arise, though in a case of its neglect the question of the seriousness of the offence may have to be considered in determining the action to be taken. On the other hand, when the law lays down in general terms a standard to be reached, *e.g.*, that adequate ventilation must be maintained, the task of securing a uniform application is far from easy. Here the Central Department has by instructions, by training and in other ways to direct the Inspector in the application of the law. The task is rendered harder by the fact that under our system, unless powers have been given by the Statute to the Department to define more precisely the nature of the obligation and to lay down some definite standard, neither the Inspectors nor the Department have the power to give directions of a binding character. They can advise, but if their advice is not complied with, the matter can only be settled by the courts of Summary Jurisdiction on a prosecution, and different Courts may, and do, differ considerably in the views they may take.

For instance, in prosecutions for failure to comply with the provisions which requires the maintenance of a "reasonable" temperature, it is not always easy to convince a court that temperatures well below the standard which the Department tries to secure, say, for occupations of a sedentary character, are unreasonable.

The British legislation has been criticised at times for its use of such terms as adequate, reasonable, and the like, in legislating on industrial conditions, but on the whole the system in practice works well. It does not follow, moreover, that matters would be improved by laying down precise standards. This method has been adopted as regards temperatures for certain processes (*e.g.*, in the Regulations for woodworking) but difficulty has also been experienced in obtaining convictions under these regulations. In the long run, a uniform administration tends to be secured under our system, and it is doubtful whether the enormously detailed codes which are to be found in some countries produce better results.

The Inspectors report regularly the results of their inspections; and they refer difficult questions to their superior officers in the provinces or headquarters for advice or instruction.

It is on the efficiency of the Inspectorate that the Central Department must rely for the success of its administration, and for carrying out the intentions of Parliament, and the maintenance of that efficiency must be the constant pre-occupation of the Department. It follows that the closest relations must exist between the Department and its Inspectorate. It is a case of team work; any and every Inspector can feel that he may have something useful to contribute. Consultation between the Department and the Inspectorate is the normal

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practice. Where the Inspection Branch is small, as in the case of the Explosives Inspectors, discussions can take place with the Inspectors individually—in the case of a large inspectorate, distributed over the country, the consultation is effected in other ways, through the Chief Inspector and his colleagues at headquarters, by means of periodical or special conferences, correspondence and so on.

This is the place in which to say something about the relation of the Inspectors of the Central Department to the Local Authorities. In some instances, the Inspectors are concerned to see whether a particular branch of local administration is being satisfactorily carried out. The Inspectors of Constabulary, for example, examine and report upon the efficiency of the various police administrations and forces. Under the Factory Acts, the inspection of workshops (as distinguished from factories) has since 1891 been divided between the Home Office and the local sanitary authorities, the latter being made responsible under the Public Health Act for the cleanliness, ventilation, over-crowding, &c., of workshops. If an Inspector, on his inspection of a workshop for other purposes, finds defects in respect of any of these matters, he is required to give notice of them to the local authority, and in default of their taking the action necessary to remedy the defects, can take action himself. This is by no means a paper provision. In 1931, 4,854 such notices were served on the local authorities. Indeed, there is a tendency on the part of the small local authorities to depend entirely on the notices received from the Inspector. It would take me too far afield to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the present arrangement for the inspection of workshops, but I may mention that in the amending and consolidation Bills which were introduced in 1924 and 1926 it was proposed to revert to the arrangement which existed before 1891 and to make the Factory Inspectorate responsible, in general, for the whole inspection of workshops.

2. *Collection and Dissemination of Information and Experience.* The collection of information in regard to the working of the law which the Department has to administer, its effects, the measure of its success in bringing about the results desired and so on, must be an important function of the Inspectorate. The Inspectors are the "eyes" of the Department. They do more however than collect information on these points. The Factory Inspectors, for instance, are expected to call attention to new developments in industry, new points of danger, new methods of promoting the safety, health or welfare of the worker which they may observe in the course of their inspection. The Factory Inspectorate occupies indeed a unique position. It is the only body in the country which obtains

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a comprehensive view of all the industries of the country in regard to the conditions under which work is carried on. The use that can be made of the Inspectorate by the Central Department does not end here. Investigation and research into special problems have frequently to be undertaken by them—these may be entrusted to members of the general inspectorate or where, as often happens, the problem is of a medical, electrical or engineering nature, to the specialised medical, electrical or engineering branches; or, it may be, to both. This is not to say, of course, that the Department does not also draw upon outside assistance for purposes of investigation and research—such assistance has often been used most advantageously, sometimes in conjunction with inspectors, sometimes working independently. And since the War, the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research and the Medical Research Council have carried out valuable investigations for the Department.

The information collected and the results of the investigations undertaken, are made available to the industries or persons concerned, to Parliament and to the public in the Annual Reports issued by the Department, or in special reports, or in other ways. What shall be published is of course in the discretion of the Central Department, on whom the responsibility rests. Much of what passes between the Inspectorate and the Department is necessarily confidential. Occasionally, too, an Inspector would like to say things in a report which a prudent Department considers better unsaid. I remember an Inspector who, not being satisfied with the verdict of a jury in an inquest on an industrial accident, thought juries needed to be "gingered up" or, as he put it, "stung" into taking a rather stronger line; and proceeded to do so in his report in words which were hardly discreet. He was much vexed when he was told that they could not be published.

3. *Relations with the Inspected.* It is hardly necessary to emphasize the importance of this part of our subject. Not only is the "good name" of the Department in the charge of the Inspectors who act as its agents, but the efficiency of the work of the Inspectors and of the Department depends to a great degree on the relations which the inspector is able to establish with the inspected. Courtesy and forbearance combined with vigilance and strict impartiality are qualities of primary importance in an Inspector. His business is as often to advise and persuade as to compel. Compliance with the law covers many gradations in practice. There is the bare compliance which, to borrow the language of this ancient University, is sufficient to secure a "pass" and to keep the employer or whoever it may be from being haled before a tribunal; and there is the compliance which desires to reach the best possible. It is ever the aim

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of the Inspectorate to bring the laggards up to the standard of the best, and to do this he must work to secure the confidence and good will of those whom he inspects. Compliance with the law is not always an easy matter, especially when "times" are difficult, and the inspector, while he must be firm and unbending with negligence or obstruction, can do, and does do, a great deal to help those he inspects by suggestion and information. And he is perhaps in a better position to do this than anyone. As I mentioned above, an inspectorate such as the Factory Department has a unique experience. Its inspection of every kind of industry and process gives it a wide knowledge of the difficulties met with in carrying out the law and the best methods of meeting them. This knowledge is at the service of all. This experience and knowledge have in the last few years been embodied, as it were, in the Home Office Industrial Museum, to which I have already referred, so far as matters of greater importance are concerned—and here I may mention a recent incident which bears on what I have been saying. An employer who had not "got on" very well with the Inspectors, had resented, I suppose, what he considered their meddlesomeness, and had written or said a good many unpleasant things to them, visited the Museum. I do not remember whether his object in coming was to criticise or perhaps even to curse, but at any rate he remained to bless—and afterwards wrote to his Inspector to say that he took back all the unpleasant things he had said.

Inspection is not merely a policeman's job. It began by being that, at any rate so far as industrial conditions were concerned. Parliament began by dealing with a number of crying abuses which had to be suppressed, and the Inspectors were appointed primarily for the purpose of seeing that they were stopped. But the law, while it still necessarily includes a number of prohibitions, has long since broadened out into a series of positive measures for securing a high standard of safety and health and welfare for the industrial community during their employment—and the inspectorate now finds the chief part of its work in this direction.

Let me say a few words on the way in which the policy of consultation and, so far as possible, co-operation with the "inspected" works. "Getting round a table" is a method which seems very congenial to the British temperament and "diplomacy by conference," as Sir Maurice Hankey has called it, was practised in the industrial field at home long before it was acclimatized in the international field. I was looking the other day at the very earliest reports, made one hundred years ago, by the first inspectors under the Factory Acts, and was interested to find that the first thing they did was to get the principal millowners in the various districts together and

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confer with them upon the best mode of carrying the provisions of the new Act into effect. Conferences with the industries are a normal part of the procedure of to-day. If proposals are put forward by the Department, under the power given for the purpose by the Act to the Secretary of State, for the regulation of an industry which is dangerous to health or to life or limb, the persons affected—whether employers or workers—have the right of submitting their criticisms or objections, and if these are not met, the matter goes to a referee for inquiry. The practice is to see the objectors and to discuss their points with them. As a result of such discussion, agreement is now almost invariably reached. It is only right, however, to point out that the method is not without some serious drawbacks in practice. Negotiations often drag out for an inordinate length of time.

A very interesting example of the method are the conferences which have been held in certain trades, such as the cotton industry, between the Inspectorate and the representatives of the employers and workers to consider the precautions required to meet specific risks: these resulted in agreements on certain measures which have been accepted as the standard for the industry and have been loyally observed.

I ought not to leave this part of our subject without saying something of the relations of the Inspectorate, in industrial matters, with the workers. The Factory Acts exist for the protection of the workers, and the Inspectors have the right under the Acts of examining the workers in private as to the conditions of their employment, and do so when necessary. It is open of course also to the workers to bring to the notice of the inspectors any cases of non-compliance with the law—and such “complaints” as they are called are treated as strictly confidential. The complaints, it may be mentioned, are not at all numerous; in 1931, 3,046 complaints were received, and of these 834 were known to come from workers or their unions, and 1,083 were anonymous. This is one aspect of the relations between the Inspectorate and the workers, but not the only one. Duties are imposed by law on the workers in regard to various matters, where risk of accident or danger to health is involved; but, beyond this, the co-operation of the workers is needed if the best results are to be obtained. I need only cite in confirmation of this, if confirmation is necessary, the remarkable results obtained in factories where a “safety first” campaign, with a Safety Committee on which the workers are represented, has been instituted. The Inspectors are instructed to take every opportunity of impressing upon the workers that their health and safety depend in great measure on their observance of the Acts and Regulations, and on the care which they exercise during their daily work.

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4. *Advice to Department regarding Development of Policy.* This is a matter on which there is not much to say. It follows from what has already been said of the functions of the Inspectorate that the Department will depend largely, though not of course wholly, on the reports of the Inspectorate for the information and suggestions which may lead to modifications or developments of the law or practice. The final decision rests of course with the Department, or rather the Minister in charge of the Department, who is responsible to Parliament. The relation of the administrative department to the technical expert or specialist is a question that has often been discussed. It is an old one, and I do not propose to discuss it here. It is sufficient to say that, so far as the Home Office is concerned, the principle of consultation and conference is applied here as elsewhere, and that the system works.

The Place of the Inspector in Relation to Central and Local Authorities

By EDMUND R. ABBOTT, O.B.E.

Solicitor-Clerk to the Middlesex Insurance Committee and late Clerk to the Ruislip-Northwood Urban District Council

[Paper to be discussed at the Summer Conference of the Institute of Public Administration, Oxford, July, 1933]

THE Poor Law Board Act of 1847 is apparently the first Act of Parliament under which a Government Department had power to appoint "Inspectors." The Poor Law Board was subsequently superseded by the Local Government Board and ultimately by the Ministry of Health, and it is principally with the Inspectors of the latter Ministry that the writer has come into contact.

There are, of course, Inspectors acting under the control of other Departments, the Home Office, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, the Ministry of Transport.

There are Home Office Inspectors under various Acts of Parliament, for example, the Factory and Workshops Acts.

The Inspectors of the Education Department apparently were permanently appointed in consequence of a considerable amount of the cost of education being provided from national as apart from local funds, and Parliament thought it right for the Department to have inspectors who could ascertain from actual visits to schools whether or not the education was of a proper standard to justify the expenditure provided by the National Exchequer.

The Inspectors of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries again have somewhat different duties such as inspection of cattle under the Diseases of Animals Acts.

The Inspectors of the Ministry of Transport have various duties in connection with the construction and maintenance of railways, and investigation of causes of railway accidents, and hold inquiries as to the compulsory acquisition of land for road widenings, &c.

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Generally speaking the duties of the various Inspectors are concerned with, first, the safety of the public, *e.g.*, the Inspectors of Railways; secondly, the prevention of diseases, *e.g.*, the Medical Inspectors of the Ministry of Health and the Inspectors of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries; thirdly, the proper spending of moneys paid to Local Authorities by way of grant; fourthly, the control of expenditure raised by Local Authorities by way of loan and the exercise by various Government Departments of judicial or quasi-judicial functions.

The original Inspectors of the Poor Law Board had very wide powers. They had power to attend meetings of Boards of Guardians and take part in the discussions of the Boards and inspect all buildings and institutions provided for the relief of the poor; they had power to hold inquiries, to summon witnesses before them, to take evidence on oath, and persons making false statements on oath to the Inspector are liable to be prosecuted for perjury, and all the powers of these Inspectors as to holding inquiries were by the Public Health Act, 1875, conferred on the Inspectors under that Act.

Probably, however, the Inspectors of the Ministry of Health have more varied duties than others. There is a staff of Engineering Inspectors, there are Medical Inspectors, Poor Law Inspectors as stated above, Inspectors for the purpose of the National Health Insurance Acts, the Housing Acts and the Town Planning Acts.

The writer proposes to confine his further remarks to the powers and duties of the Inspectors of the Ministry of Health acting under the Local Government Acts, the Public Health Acts, the Housing Acts and the Town Planning Acts.

Their duties under the Local Government Acts, which are almost entirely confined to the Engineering Inspectors, are largely concerned with the alteration of boundaries and extension of Local Government areas—and very many and important questions have to be inquired into by them. In connection with the Review of County Districts under Section 46 of the Local Government Act, 1929, many lengthy inquiries have been held before Inspectors with King's Counsel and other members of the Bar, Solicitors and Officers of Local Authorities appearing before them, such inquiries being conducted very largely upon the lines of a court of law. In the writer's experience it is remarkable how, generally speaking, the inquiries are conducted to the satisfaction of all parties appearing before the Inspector.

It is often said, "Why should an engineer hold these inquiries?" The answer given is usually that drainage and highway questions are prominent matters to be taken into consideration. Whether this is a sufficient reason the writer is not sure, but on the whole the system seems to have worked well.

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The inquiries held by the Engineering Inspectors under the Public Health Acts relate chiefly to applications by Local Authorities for sanctions to borrow money for permanent works, and this was primarily the function of such Inspectors. These permanent works are generally of a type in which matters of engineering are those principally involved, *e.g.*, construction of sewage works, town halls, fire stations, private street works, public parks and recreation grounds. The writer considers that the system has been eminently successful—the advice of the Inspectors is of great value to the expert advisers of the Local Authorities, and many mistakes have been avoided and public money saved owing to the advice given by Inspectors who are engineers of wide experience.

Perhaps the most interesting matter in connection with the duties of the Inspectors of the Ministry of Health is the part taken by them in holding inquiries for the purpose of obtaining information by local inspection of land and buildings and hearing the evidence of local witnesses in order to assist the Minister in the exercise of his judicial or quasi-judicial functions.

These arise in the case of appeals under the Public Health Act under Section 267 of that Act which gives a right of appeal to the Minister in cases when a Local Authority are empowered to recover expenses in a summary manner, *e.g.*, in a Court of Summary Jurisdiction, or to declare such expenses to be private improvement expenses. The inquiries are generally held in consequence of monies having been apportioned upon frontagers under Section 150 of the Act or, to a limited extent, under the Private Street Works Act, 1892, for the purpose of making up private streets and frontagers being dissatisfied with the action of the Local Authority.

Under the Housing Acts inquiries are held in connection with appeals against closing orders. These are held by the Housing Inspectors, who are usually surveyors. Again, under the Town Planning Acts there are many appeals against decisions of Local Authorities as to permitting or refusing to permit the erection of buildings in particular "zones" under Town Planning Schemes or during the preparation of the latter.

The writer's experience after appearing at many of these inquiries both for and against the Local Authority is that invariably the Inspector is willing to hear all sides impartially and the inquiry is conducted to their satisfaction.

The decision in these cases has been vested by Parliament in the Minister himself, but there is considerable attraction in the proposal frequently urged that it would be in the interest of the parties that the Inspector who hears the case, sees the witnesses and views the premises, the subject of the appeal, should himself have power to

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determine the issue rather than make a report which is considered by the officials of the Department, who may take a view different from that of the Inspector.

The writer feels that generally speaking time would be saved and probably an equally satisfactory decision could be arrived at by the Inspector himself deciding, but Parliament has decided otherwise.

There is one case in which, however, Parliament enacted that an inquiry ordered by the Minister should be held by a person not in the employ of a Government Department. This was provided in the Schedule to the Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909, where a Local Authority applied to the Minister of Health for confirmation of an Order for the compulsory acquisition of land for housing purposes under Part III of the Housing Act, 1890. This restriction, however, has now disappeared, the Housing Act, 1925, having repealed this Schedule and re-enacted it in a different form, and the inquiry can now be held by an officer of the Department.

The Place of the Inspector in Relation to Central and Local Authorities

(2) From the point of view of the Local Authority

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[Paper to be discussed at the Summer Conference of the Institute of Public Administration, Oxford, July, 1933]

AT the outset it must be observed that "Points of View of Local Authorities" on relatively academical subjects such as this are difficult and indeed impossible to obtain, and no greater significance can be attached to this short contribution than that it is merely the personal (and perhaps misguided) views of the writer provoked mainly to incite a discussion of the general problem of inspectorship, both local and central.

In endeavouring to respond to a request that in any discussion of this question it is desirable to bring out clearly whether the duties of an inspector partake more of the nature of that of a policeman or of an adviser or counsellor, and also to determine what is generally the attitude and the reaction of local authorities to inspectors appointed by the central government, it would appear to be useful to set out a list of the different categories of inspectors, which, apart from the police force, operate in the average-sized county borough.*

This list is not exhaustive and does not include such a mixed administrative and inspectorial officer as a relieving officer or building inspector, as it is not desired in any way to exaggerate the conglomeration of classes of inspectors now operating in a comparatively large municipality.

Before commenting on the position which is revealed by this list, and the conclusions to be drawn from it, a few general observations on the personal relationship and mental outlook of inspectorship to the public as revealed by experience might be useful.

*See Appendix, page 256.

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In the first place the question of whether a particular inspector in his relation to the public with whom he officially comes into contact is that of a policeman or of an adviser or counsellor depends on two elements: (1) his personality, (2) the extent to which the character and method of performance of his duties are previously known. It may be generally asserted that the attitude of an inspector appearing in a district for the first time, for example a government factory inspector who has been transferred from one district to another in an entirely different part of the country, would on the occasion of his first visit to a factory be rather that of a policeman than an adviser or counsellor, unless he was by nature endowed with a greater effusiveness than perhaps we like to see as part of the make-up of that type of man or woman whom we consider best suited for inspectorship, namely, one possessed of a reasonable measure of restraint and caution.

Further experience in the district with a reasonably adaptable personality should result in his relationship to the "inspectee" becoming rather one of an adviser or counsellor. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same may be said of the inspectorial experiences of local authorities in relation to central inspectorship.

On the other hand a sanitary inspector of a local authority is often a man well known for years in the district, and when one asks him what his experience is, his reply is "I am known either personally or by repute to most of the people whom I am called upon to visit, and I should be very much at fault if I were not received (as I am in fact almost invariably received) in the capacity of a willing adviser or counsellor."

If that be in general terms a broad deduction which can justifiably be drawn from facts as they exist, is the policy of incorporating in any general scheme for co-ordination of inspectorship facilities for promotion from the lower to the higher grades of inspectorship within the confines of the locality in which the inspector is known, one that ought to be encouraged.

I am not so sure that government departments controlling inspectorship, or local head officials controlling inspectorship, are quite of that opinion.

One finds, for instance, that some Chief Constables object to recruits from the home town. It is thought that early friendships may lead to embarrassment, or on occasion may incline an officer not to pursue enforcement where enforcement would be the appropriate remedy.

If, however, the relationship of adviser or counsellor in dealing with the public who have to be supervised and controlled in their many human activities by this army of inspectors is what is generally

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sought, then the policy of local co-ordination of inspectorship so as to make the general machinery better known by the public both in its purpose and personnel, is a policy to be pursued. It is a poor testimonial to our capacity properly to recruit and train candidates for inspectorship, if local knowledge and friendly intercourse are to be deemed undesirable conditions of service.

Assuming the task of commencing *de novo* to provide an adequate, economical and efficient inspectorship for all the functions which are outlined in the Appendix (including policing) were given to an experienced organising administrator to-day, what would he do?

One imagines he would first grade the required activities according to the qualifications, experience and ability demanded. Some such grades as the following might be devised:—

Primary or Elementary Grade. Traffic control, vehicular and pedestrian.

Secondary Grade. Patrol duty for the preservation of public order and the prevention of crime.

This grade would be instructed to observe and notify such facts as cases of children playing about the streets during school hours, shops open after hours, a mental defective or indigent person wandering at large, hackney carriages not suitable to be on the road, and other peripatetic activities which are not now encouraged by the Home Office to be part of the normal activities of patrol duty.

Tertiary or Highest Grade. Recruited either from the best types in the two lower grades or direct into the grade by special qualification and training. This grade would form the main co-ordinated inspectorship of the local administration. The broad classification of this grade would be:—

Class 1. Public Health Inspectors (male and female) embracing the duties now performed by sanitary inspectors, sale of food and drugs inspectors, maternity and child welfare officers, health visitors and all the other inspecting duties of public health.

Class 2. Industrial Inspectors (male and female), *i.e.*, factory and workshops, shops acts, petroleum acts, weights and measures, gas examination, and special inspection of hackney carriages; houses of entertainment, &c.

Class 3. Criminal Investigation.

Class 4. Enforcement.

It will be observed that the above outline cuts right across the traditional control which has been exercised by the government departments particularly in relation to the police force.

The activities embraced within the term "Police" have, notwith-

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standing the growing complexity of human activities, been restricted to part only of its true and full meaning.

One writer, for some years one of H.M. Inspectors of Prisons, says, "A police system is devised for the purpose of preventing evils and providing benefits. In its first meaning it protects and defends society from the dissidents, those who decline to be bound by the general standard of conduct accepted by the large number of the law-abiding, and in this sense it is chiefly concerned with the prevention and pursuit of crime. *It has a second and more extensive meaning as applied to the regulation of public order and enforcing good government.*"

My purpose is to suggest that this latter section of the meaning of the word "Police" has been controlled almost out of existence.

Some years ago for reasons which it would be interesting to have revealed, the Home Office by circular actively discouraged the placing upon the police force of such branches of inspectorship as shops inspection, foods and drugs inspection, and I believe were a little bit doubtful about weights and measure and hackney carriage inspection.

There are two main defects of inspection service in local government, taking the term "inspection service" in its broadest sense as including police inspection. One is that the inspectors are so separated into entirely isolated branches as, firstly, to make their normal duties too monotonous to attract the best type of aspirant to this branch of public service, and, secondly, promotion in inspectorship is far too slow to satisfy the laudable ambition of an educated young man or woman.

These defects I should say are much more evident and have graver results in the ranks of inspectorship in the rural and urban areas of counties than in the larger boroughs. In the counties and in those boroughs which maintain their own police force, there is ready to hand an administrative machine capable of being used and developed so as to get rid of all these difficulties, and this could be achieved without necessarily depriving the smaller authorities of their statutory powers. The county councils could be, if one might use the term, the service supply, from which inspectors for all branches of local government service within its area could be provided.

Recently in order to overcome the difficulties created by the ruling of the Crown Officers that local authorities had no power to appoint an inspector under the Petroleum Act, 1928, to examine private garages to see whether they comply with regulations as to storage of petrol, the suggestion was made to the Home Office by the Association of Municipal Corporations that pending the passing of a short amending Bill (which has been on the files for some time now), the purpose of which is to enable local authorities to enforce those regula-

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tions, either a sanitary inspector or a police officer (both of whom are "state-aided" officers), might be appointed a government inspector under Section 16 of the said Act for the purpose of getting over this difficulty. The Home Office, however, replied that they considered such a course was an unwarrantable exercise of their powers. Whether it was unwarrantable because it was thought to be unnecessary or because it was considered that such an action might be criticised as novel, I have never yet discovered, but it would appear to have been an eminently sensible way of getting over a serious difficulty. The absence of adequate inspectorship in this particular matter is leading to grave dangers throughout the country, and this obvious and simple method of meeting it which any *ad hoc* administrator would at once seize is considered "unwarrantable."

Recent criticisms which are public property now in regard to the Metropolitan Police Force have embodied in them complaints that the force does not attract men sufficiently educated for the discharge of the various responsibilities of this large unit of inspection. One ventures to suggest that if the whole conglomeration of inspectorship operating in the Metropolitan area were put in the melting pot and co-ordinated on lines somewhat similar to those one has ventured very imperfectly to indicate, promotion would be more rapid, the functions calling for brains and initiative would be considerably extended, and the public would know where they were, and with whom they were dealing. It will be obvious to every one who reads these brief notes that even if there may be any merit in this case for co-ordinated inspectorship, the scheme is at best an ideal and can only be attained in part or by gradual process; one appreciates the difficulty of its application *en bloc* to the health services, and of fitting in the administrative control of the Medical Officer of Health, but such difficulties should not be insuperable. Nevertheless, no system which can permit of a sanitary inspector, a factory inspector, a weights and measures inspector, a shops inspector, a policeman and a school attendance officer, all inspecting a machine shop with a retail business, and the family living on the premises, simultaneously, can be perfect; and one would not consider it unreasonable if the head of the family considered that whatever their functions they were neither advisers nor counsellors. He might, in fact, christen them very aptly by some other name.

With regard to the second aspect of inspectorship, namely, the attitude and reaction of local authorities in relation to inspectors of local government appointed by the Ministries, it must be pointed out that Government Inspectors viewed from the point of view of local authorities are divided into four classes, namely:—

- (1) The inspector whose functions are exercised in relation to

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particular branches of industry, but who has a parallel but remote relation to local authority inspectors, for example, the factory inspector, who marches in parallel with the sanitary inspector so far as his duties relate to factories and workshops. Another instance is that of the inspectors of the Board of Agriculture under the Contagious Diseases Acts and other agricultural control, who march in parallel with inspectors appointed by boroughs and urban districts in regard to dairies, cowsheds, milkshops, and cattle disease; or agricultural and veterinary inspectors appointed principally by county councils.

One might venture to express the view that if there were a larger basic unit of inspectorship operating in the local authorities' areas, there might be a considerable reduction in the number of cases of this class of inspectorship and much overlapping would thus be avoided.

(2) The second class is that *ad hoc* inspectorship characterized by the Minister of Health recently as "a flying squad to stimulate backward authorities." Obviously the efficient local authority views this type of inspectorship as quite unnecessary, and one which should be quickly removed by the improvement of the inspection personnel in what are so described as "backward authorities," presumably in most cases small urban and rural authorities.

Much could be done to that end if the functions of inspectorship were co-ordinated as outlined above. There can be no doubt whatever that much of the backwardness and slow progress made in many districts in regard to slum clearance, and enforcement of reconditioning where that is appropriate, are due to a low standard of inspectorship, often poorly paid, and with no authority such as would and could be exercised by inspectors whose training was in the larger school of inspectorship based on the existing police machinery of the larger police areas. Members of local authorities may be earnest and willing, but their efforts largely misfire if their public work is not backed up by efficient inspectorship, and that will not be attained by flying squads dropping down on an inefficient and out-of-date personnel.

(3) The third class of inspector is the permanent and routine inspectorship as exemplified by Poor Law, Board of Control and Education Inspectors. These are akin to those mentioned in the second group above.

The establishment of this class of inspector as a permanent feature of the relationship of the central government to local administration leads inevitably to one or other of two conclusions. Either that the standard of administration locally never will reach one which will invariably satisfy the Government standard without such inspector-

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ship, or that there is no prospect by co-ordination of local inspectorship of a standard being reached within its ranks as to carry out quite as efficiently such functions as are now exercised by this class of government inspectors.

(4) The fourth and last, and perhaps the most acceptable class of inspectorship to local authorities is that which fulfils the administrative and judicial functions required for inquiry into the merits of applications made by local authorities to the several Ministries for Orders, sanctions or other instruments required in connection with extension of powers or approval of capital schemes and expenditure. In this category is included the somewhat rare functions of inquiry into irregularities or other serious difficulties in local administration.

As in the case of the relations generally which exist between local authorities and the controlling Ministries, so in this last category of inspectorship there has been a marked passing from the mental outlook of the police to that of advice and counsel, and to establish what can be done by improved inspectorship in general one would point to this class of inspectorship as administered to-day by those members of the medical, legal and engineering professions and civil servants who constitute its personnel; much greater service can be done for the public when the standard of inspectorship attained generally throughout the local authorities of the country approximates to that of this last-named class.

APPENDIX

Appointments of Inspectors functioning in many County Boroughs under Statutory Authority.

A.—APPOINTED BY LOCAL AUTHORITY.

(a) Name of Office and Statutory Authority.

(b) Whether approval of Government Department is required to appointment or dismissal.

(c) Observations.

(a) Sanitary Inspector appointed under Public Health Act, 1875, and Public Health Officers Act, 1921. (b) Yes, and removable only with the consent of Minister of Health under Section 2 (1) of Act of 1921 and Article 7 of Sanitary Officers Order, 1926. (c) By Section 3 of Public Health Officers Act, 1921, Inspector of Nuisances was in future to be designated Sanitary Inspector.

(a) Inspector under Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1875 (Section 13). (b) No. (c) Minister of Health and Board of Agriculture may direct an officer of the Board to procure for analysis samples of food.

(a) Inspector under Shops Acts. Shops Act, 1912 (Section 13). (b) No. (c) The enforcement of closing of shops on weekly half-holiday, meal times and hours of employment. The enforcement of early closing is usually carried out by the Police under instructions of Chief Constable as an Inspector under the Act.

(a) Maternity and Child Welfare Officer. Maternity and Child Welfare Act, 1918. (b) No. (c) Medical Officer has the assistance of Female Health Visitors (see below).

(a) 1. Tuberculosis Officer (Medical Officer). 2. Tuberculosis Visitor (woman). Appointed under Local Government Qualification of Health Visitors Regulations, 1930,

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made by Minister of Health under Local Government Act, 1929 (Section 59). (b) No. (c) Medical Officer usually has the assistance of a Sanitary Inspector.

(a) Venereal Diseases Officer. Appointed under Local Government Qualification of Health Visitors Regulations, 1930, made by Minister of Health under Local Government Act, 1929 (Section 59). (b) No. (c) —

(a) Health Visitors appointed under Local Government Qualification of Health Visitors Regulations, 1930, made by Minister of Health under Local Government Act, 1929 (Section 59). (b) No. (c) Not official Sanitary Inspectors, but if on visitation they find sanitary conditions unsatisfactory they report same.

(a) Midwives Act. Medical Officer. Midwives Act, 1902. (b) No. (c) Central Midwives Board have appointed a Woman Inspector to visit and report on Institutions where midwives are being trained. Medical Officer is usually assisted by Female Health Visitors.

(a) Public Analyst. Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1875. (b) Yes, by Minister of Health. (c) —

(a) 1. Veterinary Inspector under Diseases of Animals Act (Section 35). 2. Inspector of the Local Authority under Section 35. (b) No. (c) Large powers are given to Inspectors of Board of Agriculture. Cowsheds are regularly inspected by all the Sanitary Inspectors, who report to the Special Inspector, who, when necessary, calls in the Veterinary Inspector.

(a) Inspector under Explosives Act, 1875. (b) No. (c) Large powers of supervision are given to Government Inspectors. Local Authorities are to exercise powers, and they may authorise officers to carry out the duties.

(a) Sanitary Inspector acting as Inspector of Factories and Workshops. Factory and Workshops Act, 1901 (Section 125). (b) No. (c) Subject also to inspection by Home Office Inspector. Their duties are mainly confined to Factories containing machinery, and concern the individual worker.

(a) Gas Examiner under Gas Regulation Act, 1920. Inspector of Gas Meters under Sale of Gas Act, 1859. (b) No. (c) Gas Referees are authorised to inspect the works of Undertakers.

(a) Petroleum Consolidation Act, 1928. (b) No. (c) Home Office Inspector is appointed to examine and ascertain if Acts and Regulations are complied with. Council's Officer is only authorised to test Petroleum kept for trade or industry. Petrol kept in private garages may contravene Regulations made by Home Secretary, but no attempt is apparently made to enforce same.

(a) Inspector of Weights and Measures. Weights and Measures Act, 1878. (b) No. (c) Board of Trade are invested with large powers of inspection.

(a) Infant Life Protection Visitor. Children Act, 1908 (Section 2 (2)). (b) No. (c) Health Visitors now carry out the duties of Visitors. Powers previously executed by Guardians were transferred to the Council under Section 1 of Local Government Act, 1929.

(a) School Attendance Officer. Education Acts, 1870, 1918-1921. (b) No. (c) —

(a) Vaccination Officer. Vaccination Acts, 1867, 1871, 1874, 1898 and 1907. (b) Subject to approval under Vaccination Order, 1898, Article 11. (c) Functions transferred from Poor Law Authority to the Council under Local Government Act, 1929 (Section 2).

(a) Registrars of Births and Deaths. Births and Deaths Registration Act, 1836.

(b) Control by Registrar-General. (c) Local Government Act, 1929.

B.—BY GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS.

(a) Name of Office and Statutory Authority.

(b) Whether approval of Government Department is required to appointment or dismissal.

(c) Observations.

(a) Inspectors of Factories and Workshops. Factory and Workshops Act, 1901.

(b) — (c) There is no material overlapping in relation to the duties of the Sanitary Inspector.

(a) Inspectors of Schools. Education Act, 1921. (b) — (c) The energies of these Inspectors, it is hoped, may soon be diverted to the overhauling of some of the educational institutions termed "private schools."

(a) Poor Law Inspectors. Poor Law Act, 1930. (b) — (c) Improved administration ought soon to dispense with the necessity of these Inspectors.

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(a) Inspectors appointed under—Lunacy, Mental Deficiency, Health services generally, including cattle diseases. (b) — (c) —

(2) Appointments by Local Authorities of Inspectors not holding their appointments under express statutory direction.

(a) Hackney Carriage Inspector. Town Police Clauses Act, 1847. (b) No. (c) The Public Health Act, 1875, incorporates the 1847 Act and imposes on the Urban Authority the exercise of the powers as to Hackney Carriages. Under these powers an Inspector of Hackney Carriages is usually appointed.

(a) Employment of Children Act Inspector. Education Act, 1901. (b) No. (c) Duties now performed by the School Attendance Officers transferred to them when Education Act, 1921, came into force. Section 94 of that Act puts the duty of enforcement on Local Education Authority.

(a) Mental Deficiency Act Inspector. Mental Deficiency Act, 1913. (b) No. (c) Act requires Board of Control to appoint their own Inspectors to visit Institutions and all defectives under Guardianship.

(3) Statutory Appointments which *may* be made by Government Departments and which are presumably functioning in some Boroughs.

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|-------------------------------|--|
| Alkalie Works Regulation Acts | Minister of Health may appoint Inspectors. Any Local Authority under the Public Health Acts may apply for appointment of additional Inspector—they paying one-half of his salary |
| Electric Inspector | Board of Trade may, if Local Authority fail to appoint Inspector or provide proper inspection, appoint an Electric Inspector |
| Inebriates Act, 1908 | Secretary of State may appoint Inspectors of Inebriates Reformatories |
| Burial Grounds and Mortuaries | Ministry of Health may appoint Inspector of Burial Grounds and Mortuaries under Burial Acts of 1855 and 1900 |
| Anatomy Act, 1832 | Home Secretary appoints Inspectors of "places where anatomy is carried on, and a District is allotted to each |

Salesmanship in the Public Service: Scope and Technique

By Sir STEPHEN G. TALLENTS, K.C.M.G., C.B., C.B.E.

[Paper to be discussed at the Summer Conference of the Institute of
Public Administration, Oxford, July, 1933]

THE title chosen for this discussion, if taken literally, seems to me a little too narrow to bring out the full interest of the subject which lies at its back. The word "Salesmanship," it is true, now wears the wedding garment of a valuable Report by a Committee of the Board of Education, not to mention its frequent use in speeches from high places. I am not sure if in popular currency it yet sufficiently embraces the sale of ideas as distinct from articles and utilities. "Propaganda" since the war has been a term of ill-fame, which the recent creation by Germany of a "Ministry for the Enlightenment of the People and for Propaganda" scarcely serves to mitigate. "Publicity" is not altogether an agreeable claimant to its succession. I have myself a fancy for the word "Projection." However, let names be what they may, the only sensible contribution which I can make to your discussion is to speak from my own experience; and that consists chiefly for this purpose in the administration during the last seven years of an item in a Parliamentary Vote which has throughout, however inadequately, been entitled "Publicity."

Why do we hear so much more about Salesmanship and Publicity than we used to? A friend, to whom I put this question, suggests, and, I think, acutely, that their rise is part of the general transfer of interest from the problems of production to those of distribution. We know enough for the moment about the production of goods and it might be argued that we know enough about the production of ideas. The distribution of goods and ideas and information is now our major problem; and with that realization the question of publicity in the public service assumes a novel and very real importance.

The modern agencies of publicity are very various. At one end of the scale they include the press, on both its editorial and its advertising sides, the poster, broadcasting, cinema, participation in exhibitions, speeches and lectures. At the other end of the scale they

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include, I suggest, for our purpose the manner in which letters from the public are answered, the air with which visitors to public offices are received, and the attitude adopted by public departments to their own mistakes. Not all of these media are of equal importance. To our generation the new media of the film and the microphone seem to me especially important. Their development has been so swift, and their possibilities are so great. It was in the same year, 1895, that the first projectors were invented and that Marconi made his first successful experiments in his Bologna garden with short-wave wireless transmissions. Now the weekly film audiences of the United Kingdom are estimated by Mr. Rowson at 20,000,000, while the Director of the International Broadcasting Union at Geneva lately estimated the number of homes in the world equipped to receive wireless at 40,000,000. These figures imply great opportunities. But they also imply a desperate struggle for existence among the ideas which are presented to the public mind; and the ideas which the public servant wishes to convey must be released to the world in the pink of condition if they are to prove their fitness to survive.

There is here a new field of great and rapidly increasing interest to the administrator, which has so far attracted much less examination than it deserves. It is a subject, so far as I have been able to discover, on which little has been written and less thought. I can only speak of it tentatively and from a limited field of observation. I was chiefly moved to take the opportunity of reading this paper, which your Institute so generously offered me, by the hope that I might derive from your subsequent discussion criticisms, suggestions and records of experience derived from fields beyond my individual outlook.

So first—What are the legitimate purposes of Publicity in the public service? I offer you the following list as a starting point for discussion:—

(i) *To interest the public in work done in their name, and to create an intelligent criticism of the public services.* Every public servant of more than a few years' standing has suffered from criticisms of his work by the public, the press or public bodies which were founded in an ignorance for which neither public nor newspapers nor elected representatives could be fairly criticised. There are at present no adequate means for keeping people informed of what is done by public administration on their behalf, at their charges, and often in remoteness from them. In years gone by Parliament was the national interpreter of the actions of the State to the public. Now the actions of the State are too complicated to be interpreted either to Parliament by the Departments, or to the public by Parliament. The newspapers have greatly reduced their

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reports of Parliamentary proceedings and newspaper readers, I suspect, have even more drastically cut down the time which they devote to their perusal. Hence it comes, for example, that the modern public servant, whose devotion to his work is more often excessive than deficient, and who lives in consequence like a harassed monk in the modern world, is commonly supposed to be an aloof and leisurely spirit, waiting for Big Ben to strike a quarter to five. You will remember Mr. George Morrow's charming inclusion, in his "Things which we shall never see" series in *Punch*, of the queue waiting at the early door outside a Government Department. Moreover, the public servant, who has for the most part no balance sheet against which to check his activities, peculiarly needs the stimulus of trained and informed criticism; whereas the public service at present lacks efficient and impartial critics nearly as acutely as does the film industry. The difficulty of being known by our works increases with the increased scope and complication of central and local government. Against that increasing complication we can set off, and should be quick to employ, the new modes of publicity which modern developments have placed at our disposal.

Perhaps the publicity of the Underground Railways of London is the best of all matured examples of a great public business presenting itself to the public. Mr. Frank Pick has set an example of how to present a great enterprise to the public, and that process includes the erection of the headquarters building at St. James's Park Station which Mr. Charles Holden designed for him. It is pleasant to find the London Power Company and Sir Giles Scott following the same line in their great new generating station at Battersea. Why should not every great public service and the administration of every great city follow that excellent example? The Post Office services have lately shown some signs of doing so. Another example will, I hope, be found this autumn in a film which the B.B.C. have commissioned the Empire Marketing Board Film Unit to make of their activities. In a more local field the town of Chesterfield lately gave an enterprising lead. The Education Authority encouraged one of its teachers, Mr. W. H. George, in the production out of his own resources of a film illustrating in a popular way the scheme of education—of the preparation of children for various callings—for which it had made provision. That film was seen by some of your Institute's members at South Kensington last winter. It has since been shown by the Film Society in London. It was loudly applauded when it was shown as part of an ordinary public programme in the Tatler Theatre. I very much hope that it may live to be applauded in an improved form by wider audiences than those.

(ii) *To justify to the public action based on considerations too*

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technical, too complicated or sometimes necessarily too secret to be fully comprehended by the public. Most of this audience at one time or another must have experienced this type of need for publicity. It generally involves action of some urgency; and the press, the B.B.C. and the public platform are the media most frequently appropriate to it. The press campaign for the War Loan Conversion operations of last year was a good example, both of the need and of its successful fulfilment. A similar need clearly arises in our national dealings with foreign countries.

(iii) *To encourage the public to take the most economic advantage of the facilities which they have caused to be provided for themselves.* I have sometimes discussed with a friend in the Treasury the degree to which it is legitimate to press the sale of publicly-owned utilities. It is not, I think, legitimate to press them with a mere view to extended sales, or for the mere sake of securing profits to the provider either in the undertaking advertised or in allied undertakings. On the other hand it is as important to explain to the public truthfully what it will gain by acquiring a particular commodity as it is to produce that commodity. The producer seldom realises that the public have not thought out for themselves just how they might benefit by using the service which he offers. The present campaign on behalf of the telephone and certain other Post Office services illustrates the case. It is legitimate and desirable to press that campaign in the interests of public and private efficiency in the broadest sense. It would not be legitimate to press it deliberately for the sale of telephones for useless or misconceived purposes.

(iv) *To make known to the public concerned the results of scientific research.* Much has been written in the last few years of the lag between the discovery in the laboratory and its application in practice. No field more patently needs the employment of modern modes of publicity. The agricultural and scientific departments all have problems which could be solved by their skilled use, while the Colonial Office in the fields of human and animal health and tropical agriculture has a responsibility which it can only discharge in this way. The Empire Marketing Board has specialized in the distribution of popular articles, illustrating scientific agricultural research, to the press of the Empire, and the response has shown how acceptable such material is. The B.B.C. is arranging talks of the same kind through its Empire Station. The Empire Marketing Board, on the commission of the Imperial Conference of 1930, made a film to illustrate the work of the Welsh Plant Breeding Station. This film was only a first experiment. The young producer had artificially to cram into a fortnight, for reasons of economy, processes which ought to have been photographed at different seasons. The film, too,

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paradoxically enough, suffered from the romantic character of Welsh mountain scenery; the producer lingered too long on the picturesque upland scenes. However, he produced at any rate a film which one of the leading commercial companies was glad to buy; and it is certainly an interesting experiment in a field of vital interest to many public services. I suspect that some day our children will read with astonishment of health and agricultural departments without full libraries of films at their disposal.

(v) *To carry out by modern publicity media special functions of public administration.* There is here a wide range of opportunities. Consider the need for supporting a national or an Imperial agricultural programme by publicity such as the Empire Marketing Board and the Agricultural Departments have undertaken in recent years. Consider the value of wireless, films and posters not as substitutes for teaching but as aids to the teacher. Consider the opportunities of promoting our trade, still more of promoting a better understanding of our country and its policies, by organised publicity overseas. Consider one other practical example. The Ministry of Labour, working through its Juvenile Advisory Committees, in co-operation with local education authorities, undertakes vocational guidance. In this field the film, in particular, could be of the highest value. Few children and few parents in any class know anything of the choice of occupations open to them at home, and still less of the callings which they might take up overseas. It should be possible, by means of a library of films depicting different occupations, to give children nearing their school leaving age a pretty comprehensive idea of what work in different callings means. I was once for several years Chairman of a Juvenile Advisory Committee, and I know that not only I, but, what is more important, the Secretary of that Committee, would have found such an addition to our resources invaluable. The cost of such a film service would be much more than repaid by the increase of national efficiency secured by the more appropriate placing of children in employment.

(vi) *To create esprit de corps between the different branches of a widely-scattered or multifarious public service, and a proper pride of service within a large organization.* Anyone, who has worked in a very large public service, or in a service embracing very various activities, knows how difficult it is to create and preserve a team spirit between members separated by wide distances or occupied in wholly different callings. He knows, too, what a nuisance and what a source of inefficiency departmental jealousies can be, and how great a danger there is, as someone once aptly put it, of the energies of the machine being dissipated in the friction between its parts. There is the further point that such

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factors as well-designed buildings, furniture and equipment, light and cleanly decorated rooms, even well-designed note paper, not only give the public a sense of efficiency but also help to give the staff of an undertaking a definite pride of service. Ugliness and functional unfitness of their material surroundings, to a degree which is, I am sure, as yet scarcely recognised, both sap the morale of a staff and dishearten the public which see them. How depressing, for example, it is, even for hardened public servants like ourselves, to pass from a modern business building into some of our Government offices. We are dealing here with a special type of internal publicity, but I believe it to be of considerable importance. In that belief the Post Office lately commissioned the E.M.B. Film Unit to prepare a film, which we provisionally called "The Telephone Service," designed to show, primarily to members of the Telephone Service, the tasks of its various branches and their interdependence. It shows incidentally some of the excellent new telephone exchanges. It aims at dramatizing the work of the service. In that rôle it should find a wider public than the service only, and in so doing should help to make the service "feel good." I fancy that a good film of a corporate activity can do for it something of what a new dress does for a woman or, for the matter of that, a new suit of clothes for a man.

I turn to the methods which should be adopted in the field of public administration by authorities desiring to sell ideas or goods by modern publicity methods. The first essential is that their publicity should be based on sound knowledge. That requirement should present no difficulty, for our public services, unlike some commercial advertisers, cultivate, if anything, too well-minced a knowledge of their subject for practical purposes. The second essential is that it should be founded on sincerity and truth. That is a less simple demand, for the conveyance of truth is never easy. It postulates, I believe, my third essential which is that our publicity should be a job for professionals and not for amateurs. I am far from meaning by this that it should necessarily be entrusted to outside agencies. I mean only that it is no use relegating the preparation of publicity material to an officer on the ground that he can produce good official memoranda, still less on the ground that his other duties do not fully absorb his energies. No one, who has not had some glimpse of the inside of an editor's office, can picture the amount of Government publicity matter which goes straight into the waste-paper basket. No one, who has not peeped into the vaults of the film companies, knows how much material, dealing with subjects of the type with which administrators should concern themselves, "shot" originally at so much a foot, escapes subsequent criticisms only because it is

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too dull to be put upon the screen. Most of us, however, have suffered from official posters, and some of us from the displays of public bodies at exhibitions. "Callisthenes," whose daily articles are well worth following by students of publicity, remarked this April that the national publicity of Great Britain was "jerky, unco-ordinated and amateurish"; and "Callisthenes" was right. This criticism should extend to official literature and official statements. It is curious that, with so many highly educated men in its service, the State speaks always in that abominable "jargon," of which you will find, I have no doubt, plentiful reminiscences in this paper.

Our first need is that our governors should recognize publicity as a positive and useful function instead of as a timidly defensive operation. The tendency seems to be for public departments to start publicity from motives of self-protection and then, realizing its possibilities, to pass from the defensive to the initiative. The Whitehall of 1933 represents specimens of publicity in all its stages from chrysalis to butterfly. Our second need is that publicity should be recognized as a professional job, demanding special training and special capacities which, incidentally, do not include a flair for personal boosting, but do include, in the broadest sense, artistic capacity. Possibly a third need is to explode the idea that publicity for public administration is necessarily expensive. While the publicity of administration has, as I have said, to compete with other claims on the public's attention, it has not ordinarily got to face rivals in its own field, as one brand of cigarette has to compete with the claims of another. Just as film stars' salaries are often purposely exaggerated, so many businesses, I suspect, tacitly exaggerate, for the encouragement of retailers and others, their publicity expenditures. Skill and experience, I am satisfied, can do much to secure economy in publicity administration. A further need is to rebut, at any rate when you are selling ideas and not commodities, the inevitable pressure for statistically measurable results. Given a recognition of needs such as these, many practical questions arise, including the question how far public authorities should look to combined centres for the carrying out of the publicity work which they need: how far again they must build up their own agencies and how far rely on ordinary commercial agencies. In some cases combination is essential; for example, I have no doubt that any Government Department participating in an exhibition should use the Exhibitions Division of the Department of Overseas Trade as its agent, and little doubt that there should be a single Government Film Unit, such as we have established at the Empire Marketing Board. On the other hand, where press and wireless work is concerned—fields in which quick action is often imperative—

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no such complete pooling of resources is feasible. These questions, however, will only arise in practical form when the authorities in central and local Government have been weaned from the idea that publicity is a luxury, if not a folly, and I shall be content if this paper should supply some small arms and ammunition to the powers of light in a struggle which I know from personal experience to require the attention of heavy artillery. The skilled and judicious employment of publicity is, I am convinced, a subject of major importance in public administration. It enjoys at present some lip-service but little sound thought or practical experiment. It demands the most careful study and experiment, and the application to both of first-class brains and first-class taste.

Salesmanship in the Public Service: Scope and Technique

By HAROLD WHITEHEAD, B.B.A. F.I.I.A.

(Harold Whitehead and Staff)

[Paper to be discussed at the Summer Conference of the Institute of Public Administration, Oxford, July, 1933]

AS introductory to this paper which I am privileged to present to the Institute of Public Administration, two explanations appear to me to be desirable. At the very outset, I should make it clear that the views expressed for your consideration are not those of an authority on the organisation and administration of the public service. One of the pleasures denied me in an otherwise varied life is that of being a member of the Civil Service, or of any of the several organisations which are responsible for the administration of the public services in this country. While I can claim to know something by reason of being a co-opted or temporary member of some of these organisations, I do not pretend to have that comprehensive knowledge of even a majority of the Departments and Services which would enable me to express my views from a background of knowledge such as most of you possess. My views, therefore, are those of an observer who has been trained by study and practice in the science of marketing and selling, and in the planning and building up of suitable organisations for the carrying out of these functions. The viewpoint of the commercial mind on this subject may be of interest and I hope even of value to you.

The second explanation is in regard to the word "salesmanship." There are few words in our language which have been given a greater diversity of interpretation. Perhaps the most common misconception is that salesmanship means persuading a person to buy something he does not want, or using what are termed "high pressure" methods to force the sale before the prospective buyer is satisfied in his own mind that he needs the goods or service which the salesman is offering. Such a false idea must be excluded from the outset. Before proceeding further, therefore, I should like to secure your concurrence to a definition of this most elusive term.

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In the commercial sense we may say that—

Salesmanship is the art of so presenting the advantages of a service or a commodity that the prospective purchaser appreciates its benefit to him and is willing to pay the price asked.

Alternatively, in the broader sense of public relations,

Salesmanship is the ability to build up appreciation of the value or desirability of a service, idea or ideal, so that it is accepted, and satisfaction follows its adoption.

These are necessarily broad and general definitions but they convey the fundamental truth that salesmanship, to be effective, provides the means of arriving at a common point of view between two or more people in regard to the desirability of an article, service or idea. This does not apply merely to the practice of selling as commonly understood in commercial circles. In the final analysis, everyone who has any contribution to offer to the community, whether it be service, goods, ideas or ideals, is engaged in salesmanship in the sense that I have defined it. The embryo politician addressing his constituents, trying to make them realise that he would worthily represent their views in the counsels of Parliament, the advocate pleading before the jury for the acquittal of his client, and every advocate of every "ism"—they, as we, are all "selling" because we are all trying to get somebody else to look at something tangible or intangible from the point of view from which we ourselves regard it. That is what salesmanship really is.

In considering what the Public Service has to sell, let me refer first to what may be termed the direct selling activities of the Central Government. My list, which is probably not exhaustive, includes—

- (a) *Commodities.* A very limited range but embracing publications and reports (Stationery Office), surplus stores and equipment, &c. Under this heading one may recall the activities of the Surplus Stores Disposal Board and the Ministry of Shipping which were charged with the duty of selling the vast quantities of commodities and materials purchased by the Government for the Great War and surplus to peace-time requirements.
- (b) *Services.* Under this heading are included services administered by the Post Office, Home Office, Board of Education, Department of Overseas Trade, and the Departments responsible for National Savings Certificates and other Government loan and investment services, to name but a few. The list might be extended to include the British Broadcasting Corporation.

It will be of advantage to examine the present standard of sales-

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manship of the foregoing list before considering the wider range of services which the public are obliged by Statute to accept and the services and trading services carried out by Municipalities and Local Authorities.

The observer cannot fail to be impressed by the comparatively recent change in the outlook and methods adopted by the Government Departments and Ministries or Services. Professor Harvey Walker in a recent paper stated that the principles of public administration are derived from the most successful technique used in governments or in private business. That is undoubtedly so but new methods are only adopted in the public service after they have been exhaustively tried and tested, and while such caution is obviously desirable, up to a point, I would venture on the gentle criticism that the public service is frequently too hesitant in applying to its own purposes a technique which has been undoubtedly successful in the commercial field.

The development of advertising is symptomatic of this new outlook and to-day, Government and Government Services take a prominent place in the ranks of National Advertisers. There has also been a noticeable growth in the use of other forms of publicity. Educative exhibitions and films, leaflets, circulars and handbooks have been introduced and undoubtedly play a useful part in the creation of public interest. But the appeal of publicity must be backed up and made personal by the staff—who are salesmen, whether they are so called or not—who are in contact with the public.

At Post Offices and Stationery Offices, I am given to understand, a specially recruited counter staff is employed to carry out the orders of the public who enter these offices. Before taking up appointments, counter clerks receive training in their duties, but the training is concerned more with the rules and regulations of the Department rather than with the attitude which these clerks should adopt towards the public; they are not instructed how to *represent* the Department whose services they are offering. In brief, they are not salesmen; they are order takers, a job which can be done by any normally intelligent person. Do not think that by this expression I criticise the individual counter clerk—they are doubtless excellent public servants but, as will be elaborated in greater detail in a later section of this paper, the system of control and direction is so impersonal that they cannot be expected to approach their task from the angle of the customer—the public, whom they serve. And when I suggest that they should be salesmen I do not visualise them endeavouring to sell a man who has purchased the most recent Blue Book on India a treatise by the Ministry of Agriculture on the Treatment of Fluke as complementary to his purchase, nor the Post Office clerk trying to increase the sale by persuading a customer to send a telegram

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when he has asked for a stamped postcard! That is *not* salesmanship.

But while sales could be increased by the use of proper methods, what is of more immediate moment is securing the goodwill of the public and in that way make them more receptive to the services which are being offered for their custom. What is the attitude of the public towards, say the Post Office services offered to them *via* the Post Office counters? In the course of a recent Survey I had occasion to investigate the public attitude towards these services and I can assure you that it leaves something to be desired. The public feel, rightly or wrongly—and I believe wrongly in most cases—that the officers who attend to their wishes from behind the counter in the average Post Office are too detached; that while they usually carry out their wishes efficiently and expeditiously, it is with an attitude of indifference as much as to say, "Well, you can purchase or not, as you wish, but we are not particularly interested one way or another." It is necessary that such a feeling, whatever its cause, should be removed and any steps that can be taken in that direction will be very well worth while.

At the present time the counter clerk's attitude towards the public is really not helpful. The public are, as I have proved by investigation, ignorant of many of the excellent services which are available for their use and there are many instances in which, if the clerk endeavoured to ascertain the customer's needs and requirements and exhibited a personal interest in these needs, a sale to the mutual benefit of the Department and the customers would result.

To develop the sale and use of the Telephone Service there is a specially recruited force of approximately 700 men employed as Sales Representatives whose duties include canvassing the public for orders. Energetic steps are thus taken to extend the use of telephone service and in that respect the Telephone Department is therefore different from the other Departments administering services which the Government offers for sale. At the latter end of 1932, arrangements were made to give the Telephone Sales Representatives a thorough training in Salesmanship by a specially constructed course lasting for six months. I regret that the very excellent Report on Post-Entry Training and Education in the Public Services prepared by the Research Group of the Institute, which was discussed at the Winter Conference, omitted reference to this new departure. It is, of course, true that the duties entrusted to these salesmen are not characteristic of the public service; but as they are carrying out duties analogous to occupations in the commercial field, while at the same time comporting themselves in accordance with the dignity rightly required of a public servant, the observations of the Research Group in regard

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to their training would have been of particular interest. I firmly believe that the result of this training will be to increase public goodwill towards the Service, to give the men increased interest and enthusiasm in their work and, what is already apparent, increase the sale and use of telephone service.

Now I come to the services which are administered by the Government and which the legislature, in its wisdom, has decided that the public must take—National Health Insurance, Unemployment Insurance—for which direct payment or payment by way of tax is demanded may be cited as examples. In regard to these services the question arises as to whether salesmanship, in the sense I have defined it, is necessary. To such a question an unqualified "Yes" must be returned. The public should be convinced that they are getting value for money; if that conviction is not secured there is a loss of goodwill, the difficulties of administration become increasingly greater, and in pure democratic theory they may, through pressure on the legislature, cease to "buy" that service. How far is it a duty and in what way can public servants exert themselves to convey a conviction of value received is the next question demanding analysis. Civil servants are detached from the politics in the arena of which many social measures are initiated but they are the guides and counsellors on the policies by which these measures are to be administered. Once the measure is carried to the Statute Book, it becomes their duty to obtain willing public acceptance of the Act through wise administration in the widest sense of the word, however contentious the proposals may have been. It is obvious that a considerable degree of care is required on the part of individual civil servants, but some such effort is justified and indeed necessary to build up public appreciation of the services rendered to them and to avoid or remove any friction between the public and the Ministry or Department concerned.

Before offering for your consideration some suggestions as to the remedial measures which could, I believe, be adopted with immediate benefit, I should like to make some observations in regard to the position of Local Authorities. Their problem, while basically the same as that which I have outlined as confronting the central government is, if anything, more acute. The public generally are probably more deeply concerned in local services, they are more intimately in touch with the personnel, they may have personal knowledge of the Councillors, while the increase in the burden of local taxation has made the administration of local services a matter of vital moment to them. Despite this local knowledge, the public frequently fail to appreciate the real service they receive in return for their payment of rates or, it may be, that they remain in ignorance of what is done

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for them and little effort is made to correct that unfortunate attitude. The statement showing how the amount of the rate is arrived at which appears on the back of the Rate Demand Note is singularly unilluminating and no personal effort appears to be directed in a systematic way to explain the work carried out for the public from the point of view of the man who has to pay.

In addition to the services administered by Local Authorities and for which payment is demanded by way of rates, many Authorities and Municipalities own trading companies such as Tramways, Gas, Electricity, primarily as public services but conducted as a business enterprise. The necessity for right methods of salesmanship in regard to these trading services has been recognised by some of the more progressive Authorities but only the fringe of the problem has been touched. I should like to mention one example from my native city of Birmingham, which is, I believe, recognised as one of the most progressive as well as one of the most efficient of local administrations.

In Birmingham, the three services, Gas, Electricity and Tramways, are managed by the City Corporation. In the Gas Department the staff who come in contact with the public receive a post-entry training first on the principles of salesmanship which includes not only training in how to increase the sale of gas, but also how to secure public goodwill towards the undertaking as the surest means to that end; and secondly, on the technology of Gas Supply. Good results have been obtained from that training and the personnel, I am informed, have acquired a new conception of the importance of their work and enthusiasm towards it, as well as increased loyalty to their undertaking with the result that their relationship with the consumer, which has always been above the average, has considerably improved.

Hitherto, in this paper, the situation as it appears to the observer, has been briefly outlined and we now turn to consideration of the methods by which a "sales outlook" in the public services can be secured.

Let me instance one public service which has secured and retained the goodwill of the public—the Police Service. Our policemen have made us law abiding, they enforce laws or regulations many of which are tiresome and, at times, apparently unnecessary and irksome, in a way which gains our respect, our friendship and our willing compliance. Why? I think the answer is that our police, carefully selected and trained, do appreciate the public viewpoint and carry out their duties to the letter but with sympathetic understanding.

The first essential then is to build up public understanding and appreciation of the services rendered to them and thus obtain their goodwill. I assume that the importance of this is fully recognised

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by members of the Institute of Public Administration but lip service to that ideal is not sufficient—steps to secure it must be taken. Flexible and sympathetic contact between the service and the public is necessary to ensure the proper functioning of the services through understanding of the public's feelings and needs. The legislative machinery provides one means of understanding because the Minister responsible can state in Parliament the Department's policy, and the need and reason for restrictive regulations, while the grievances or complaints of individuals can be brought to public notice either by question or debate in the same place. But of more immediate and practical value is the direct contact between the personnel of the Service and the public. This in fact is specially important in departments which do not come in day-to-day contact with the public and therefore have less opportunity to convey a clear and systematic impression of the services they render.

A charge is frequently levelled against employees of Government Departments and of Municipalities that their attitude towards the public is too bureaucratic and inflexible. There has been a change in recent years but considerable room for improvement still exists. In considering this point we cannot overlook the effect of a large organisation on the individual outlook. All large organisations are inclined to live in their own world, as it were, and the internal interest of the organisation becomes the paramount consideration particularly of the junior employees; in consequence the attitude of the man in the street ceases to be of importance to him. I do not direct this criticism against the Public Services alone; it is true also of all large organisations such as, for example, Railway Companies.

The personnel of the Public Services may be broadly divided for our purpose into three classes—

- (a) Those who are in constant touch with the public;
- (b) Those who are responsible for administration;
- (c) The large army of workers who do not come in touch with the public in any way.

This last-named group does not come within the scope of our subject. The second group administer and guide the personnel in the first group largely by instruction and it is to these instructions that attention should first be directed. There is a belief, widely held, among both employees and the general public, that Rules and Regulations are framed primarily for the convenience of the Department or authority concerned rather than for the benefit of the public. This belief is strengthened by the impersonal—I almost said indifferent—attitude of many employees.

The Instructions, Rules and Regulations issued by Administrators in Government and in Local Government Services may be clear and

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explicit to those who have drafted them, but it must be remembered that the staff to whom they are issued will carry out instructions to the letter and if, as frequently happens, an interpretation is necessary to put them into action the interpretation is taken from the viewpoint of the Department or Service rather than from the viewpoint of the public. Human relationships are ever varying; the ideas, wishes and impulses of people call for understanding and there is therefore a constant necessity for the interpretation of regulations in the light of the interest of the individual wherever such a course is possible.

I believe that the instructions could be framed in a more simple and direct way and that in certain cases there should be an explanation *why* the instructions must be observed or an interpretation which would be of assistance to the junior ranks in putting them into effect. But to give such an explanation and interpretation the Department or Service must stand back from the regulation and regard it from the angle of the public as well as of the officer who will have to face that public. Official language, official phraseology should be avoided, the instructions must be made more personal.

Interpretation of instructions will tend to avoid rigidity of application, to engender a more sympathetic relationship between the public and the service and secure a better understanding of the difficulties which have to be overcome. As it is, a number of public servants take the view that any departure by them from the strict letter of the regulations will lay them open to reprimand and they therefore play for safety rather than carry out their task with imagination and energy. Imagination is a capital thing in selling as well as in administration provided the seller keeps both his feet firmly upon the earth, while energy—even misapplied energy—is better than working in a strait-jacket of red-tape regulations.

As mention has been made of official phraseology I might refer here to the form in which letters to the public are addressed by Departments and Services. An examination of a great number leads me to the conclusion that the majority are susceptible to improvement. The more common faults are—

- (a) A tendency to trite and meaningless phrases;
- (b) Phraseology which is capable of being misunderstood;
- (c) Cold and "official" phraseology;
- (d) Assuming knowledge which the reader may not possess;
- (e) Lack of appreciation of the recipient's point of view.

Correspondence can be made of great effect in capturing the goodwill of the public because those who write to the Public Service Departments usually only do so when difficulties arise or when they have a complaint to make. Their problem is a real and personal

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one, so that an impersonal and routine letter rouses a feeling of disappointment or even irritation.

The next suggestion I have to offer is in regard to the junior employees—the executive and manipulative staffs employed in the public services. I am a firm believer in the productive results which can be secured by a specialised form of training, particularly for the staffs whose duties bring them in any way into contact with the public. As I understand it the usual method is to place new entrants under the older men whom they may eventually replace. This, in theory, has the merit of securing continuity of procedure but in practice it only succeeds in perpetuating Departmental methods *plus* the personal prejudices, bias or even mistakes, of the older men.

A well-known publicist recently advocated the establishment of a Ministry of Publicity whose duty would not be propaganda but frank and honest advertising of facts so that the country might know what the Government was doing. While appreciating the power of frank and honest advertising I believe more effective results would be obtained and at no great cost by the addition of training for the staff in what might be termed "Public Relations." The man in the street regards the Department or Ministry as a machine, imposing restrictions and indifferent to his personal and, to him, exceptional position. But its representative, John Smith, in town or village is a human being whom he knows, and if John Smith is able to interpret and explain a rule or an instruction in terms which he can understand and from his point of view, then an entirely different complexion appears on the matter at issue and goodwill is strengthened. It is difficult to discuss a specialised form of training in any detail within the ambit of this paper, particularly having regard to the variety of occupations embraced within the public services, but I am satisfied that it would be practical and that it would be productive of excellent results.

I have suggested the desirability of a re-writing or re-editing and interpretation of official instructions, and a specialised form of training, but there is another step in the programme which I am outlining. A need exists to inform staffs employed in the public services of the duties and responsibilities of related branches, departments, or services.

An employee who is restricted to one office or to one duty, which may be of a routine character, needs education on the relationship of his work or his office to other departments if he is to render thoughtful and intelligent service and maintain the prestige of the department he represents. This information could perhaps best be imparted by means of specially designed booklets but they must be prepared, not in the form or tone of the usual Government Manual

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of instruction but from the point of view of a member of the public seeking brief general knowledge, a *précis* as it were of a helpful and interesting organisation.

In conclusion I would pay tribute again to the high standard of the personnel employed in the public services, a standard which is unequalled in comparable organisations and suggest that if steps are taken to impart an understanding of salesmanship in the sense that I have ventured to define it earlier in this paper, then much of the existing and unnecessary friction will be removed, many of the difficulties of administration overcome, and that essential goodwill obtained which makes the public more willing to do its share in "footing the bill."

Planning in the Public Services in Relation to Changing Economic and Political Conditions

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[Paper to be discussed at the Summer Conference of the Institute of Public Administration, Oxford, July, 1933]

EVERY public service has a plan; for what makes a service public is the law, and laws such as the Education Acts, Public Health Acts, Local Government Acts, &c., are simply plans upon which it is agreed by Parliament that services shall be provided for the public. The trouble is not that the public services are planless, but that they have to be provided according to an infinite variety of different plans, made at different times (some of them a hundred years ago) and almost invariably without reference either to one another or to any single master-plan. Attempts are made to adapt these various plans to changing conditions by amending the law; but partly because the Cabinet, which is the one body responsible for the co-ordination of State-policy, has no time, partly because Parliament, whose consent is required to any change of the law, has no time, and partly because the economic and political changes of the modern world are so rapid, the public services continue to be administered upon several imperfectly co-ordinated plans.

It is impossible to give an adequate description of the context within which the public services have now to be provided; for that context is the sum of all the industrial, financial, social and political development of recent years. A perfectly planned system of public services would presumably take account of conditions in all those fields. Even if only those services are here to be considered in which local authorities of one kind or another are interested, it is difficult to dismiss any important change in the sphere of politics or economics as irrelevant.

Among industrial facts the following are perhaps especially worth bearing in mind. (1) The industrialization of Eastern countries, the Dominions and South America has increasingly deprived Great

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Britain of her old markets, and has combined with various other causes (the War, for instance, and the use of oil instead of coal) to depress those industries on which the prosperity of the country used chiefly to depend. (2) This depression, the progress of scientific invention, and the economies of large-scale production have all encouraged the rationalization of industry. (3) Unemployment has reached a very high total in almost every industrialized country, and in Great Britain has become the most serious problem not only of industry but of Government too. (4) Industry has tended to shift from the North, West and Midlands of England towards the South-East, so that the process of urbanization continues, quite out of proportion to the growth of industry as a whole. (5) Electricity has come to be an increasingly important source of power. (6) Motor-transport has developed as a new and indispensable means of communication; and the telephone has made action at a distance still easier than the telegraph had made it before.

Closely related to these industrial facts are certain others which may be called financial: the collapse of wholesale prices, especially of agricultural products; the suspension of the gold standard, in this and many other countries; the successful conversion of a large part of the National Debt, and the comparatively low level of interest-rates.

By social changes I mean such facts as these. (1) The census-returns indicate that in spite of a falling death-rate and comparatively low figures of emigration, the population of this country will not be much greater in twenty years' time than it is to-day. It also appears that the average family is smaller than it was, so that the number of dwelling-places required is likely to increase rather than diminish. (2) Means of communication have so improved that distances have become progressively shorter, and the country as a whole (and each area within it) has shrunk proportionately in size. (3) The preponderating importance of unemployment as a permanent national concern has helped to change the attitude of public opinion towards unemployed men and women. (4) For this and various other reasons, there has recently been an increase in voluntary effort, on the part of both individuals and societies. The extraordinary increase in the number of clubs and occupational centres for the unemployed since October, 1932, is one symptom of this change.

In the political sphere, the first great change has been a widening of the area of State-activity in many directions. (1) In the last three years the State has established very much closer relations with finance and industry. The Coal Mines Act, the Wheat Act, the Agricultural Marketing Act and the Bill now before Parliament; the Pig, Milk, and Potato Commissions; the trade agreements with foreign

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countries, the Ottawa and World Economic Conferences—these are only a few instances of the new constructive partnership between politics, trade and industry. The economic nationalism of other countries, the British Government's abandonment of *laissez-faire*, and the new readiness of agriculture and industry to put their houses in order (due to continued depression, the progress of rationalization, and the promise of conditional help from the Government) are each partly responsible for this development; and the end is not yet.

(2) The Electricity Supply Acts, setting up the Electricity Board and Commissioners, mark the beginning of another type of "semi-state-enterprise" (the British Broadcasting Corporation is yet another). The London Passenger Transport Act has a similar significance, and it seems possible that the State will extend its activity before long in this direction, and accept responsibility for the general co-ordination of Rail and Road Transport throughout the country.

(3) Meanwhile the social services undertaken by the State have been continuing to grow in number and variety since the end of the war. Maternity, child welfare, and the school medical service have been developed for the benefit of the young, pensions for the old, and curative services for the victims of various types of suffering—blindness, mental deficiency, tuberculosis, venereal disease. Efforts have been made, with varying degrees of intensity and varying degrees of failure, to clear the slums, build houses and plan the town and country. The Land Drainage Act of 1930 is an instance of a slightly different type of official enterprise.

In all these ways (and in many others) the sphere of the State has been extended. There has recently been a tendency, of different but complementary character, which is harder to describe. Since the financial crisis of September, 1931, and more especially since recent developments in other countries, such as Germany and the United States, public opinion has changed in the direction of what can perhaps be called nationalism. This tendency is towards a more intensive kind of government, while that mentioned above is towards a more extensive. The financial crisis led many people to demand a single policy, dominating central and local government, especially for purposes of budgeting. From Conservatives as well as Socialists a demand has lately been heard for more evidence of forethought and planning on the part of Government. A lack of complacency and a wish for drastic and thoroughgoing action appear constantly nowadays in unexpected quarters.

But this demand for a national policy does not by any means imply that there is agreement about the nature of that policy, either among experts or amateurs. On the contrary, a sharp contrast of opinion can be seen with increasing clearness between those (on the

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one hand) who say that industry, on which the prosperity of the country depends, cannot recover until it is relieved of the burden of high taxation by drastic curtailment of the social services, and those (on the other hand) who agree that private enterprise in the existing context cannot recover but conclude that it must therefore be superseded by some quite different political and economic system. This fundamental disagreement, which promises to become more rather than less acute in the near future, increases the intensity of political feeling on all sides, and seems to justify the proposition that the time is ripe for the planning and execution of some kind of a national policy.

There seem to be roughly three alternatives. Either we can say that no further planning of the public services is possible than that which already exists. At present, anyhow, we must reject this alternative, for if we accept it, we implicitly confess that any further discussion is futile. Or secondly, the only hope is in a revolutionary change: the formulation of a single, complete plan and the ruthless application of it throughout the whole field of industrial, financial and social life. This alternative must also be dismissed; for we cannot pretend to the knowledge necessary for the making of such a plan, nor could it be carried out unless at least three conditions were satisfied, none of which seems at present practicable: the complete control of education; the complete control of the Press, Broadcasting and every other way in which opinion can be expressed; and the absolute subservience of every civil servant.

Only the third alternative remains: to take a middle course. Let us suppose for the moment that the services do need more planning than they have at present, and that it is not possible to devise in advance any single plan which can then be applied to them. If so, it seems to follow that there are three conditions of effective planning: there must be knowledge, not of a final kind, but continuously and progressively made available; there must be public opinion, sufficiently instructed to understand the relevant facts and contribute to the realization of a definite policy; and there must be political institutions, which can not only co-ordinate financial, industrial and political activities in the national interest, making such use of all available knowledge as public opinion can be persuaded to allow, but which can also see that the plan is carried out, whether directly by political action or indirectly through the agency of private enterprise.

Three relevant questions remain: how can the knowledge necessary for national planning of the public services be expected to grow? How can public opinion be adequately aroused and educated? And what kind of political institutions are likely to do what is required of them?

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The growth of knowledge depends at present on two main types of agency. (1) The first includes the whole existing organization of trade, industry and finance, with its accumulated experience, its machinery for studying markets and pursuing other kinds of research, and its complementary associations of employers on the one hand and employed on the other. Knowledge from this source is quite indispensable for purposes of planning; its disadvantage is that this kind of expert is quite unavoidably an interested party. It is the policy of the present Government to co-operate wherever possible with agencies of this kind, in planning the re-organization of coal, steel and iron, for instance, or in setting up machinery for agricultural marketing whereby the producers are encouraged to submit schemes for the approval of Government. The Building Industries National Council and the Waterworks Association are two examples of the type of unofficial body which has experience and information of a specially valuable kind.

One difficulty which must be overcome if such co-operation is to be really successful is the reconciliation of apparently conflicting interests of employers and employed. It is worth considering whether National Industrial Councils could not be gradually established for each industry or group of industries, with the purpose of making available to those who plan development the relevant information which only the industry itself can provide, and of making possible some form of continuous co-operation between government and industry.

Another source of knowledge which can be considered under the same head consists of all such bodies as the Universities and the Institute of Public Administration, which are concerned from various more or less disinterested points of view with research. The help which can be given by the Universities is necessarily limited by lack of actual experience, and it is for this reason that close co-operation between academic workers and those actually engaged in administration seems to be so necessary.

(2) Agencies of the second type are those actually provided by the State. The Ordnance Survey, the Geological Survey, the Meteorological Survey, the General Registry and the Inland Revenue Department (for facts about population), the Ministries of Agriculture and Health and Labour, the Board of Trade, the Fuel Research Board and the Building Research Board, are only a few instances of Government departments which are occupied much of their time in acquiring knowledge. The problem of co-ordinating these and other such agencies cannot be discussed here; but it must be mentioned in passing that the Board of Trade has recently made use of Universities in order to survey the industrial areas of Lancashire,

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Merseyside, South Wales and South-West Scotland, for that is a good example of co-operation between official and unofficial agencies of research.

Royal Commissions, Departmental Committees and the like, are other instances of this second type. The question may well be asked whether greater use might not be made of the material collected by these agencies, perhaps by associating such commissions more closely with the actual work of legislation. Further, could some way be found in which the experience of civil servants and the record of that experience, hidden in innumerable files and minutes, might be used more fully?

Little can usefully be said about the education of public opinion. It is clearly a matter of enormous importance, uncontrolled for the most part either by Government or any other single person or body. Schools and Universities, the Press, the Film Industry, the British Broadcasting Corporation, political parties (which of course are also agencies of research), the Churches, and again such bodies as the I.P.A. which seek to bring knowledge and public opinion together, are all in part responsible for the quality of public opinion.

The experience of States which have attempted to control public opinion under modern conditions is not yet long enough to give grounds for the drawing of any definite conclusion, and in England the experiment has not yet begun. But the brief experience of the General Strike of 1926, when little news was known which the Government did not wish to be known, suggests that in the short run, at any rate, public opinion can be very strongly influenced by a powerful Government which knows its own mind.

The third condition of planning is an efficient political organization of central and local authorities. Clearly the central government must be responsible for the initial work of dividing labour between itself and other political institutions. I do not intend to discuss the question of how successfully either Cabinet, Parliament or Government Department has adapted its technique to the changed economic and political conditions in which this work has to be done; but certain aspects of the work are worth mentioning.

First is the question of functions. Should the police service, for example, which has already ceased to be a function of any local authority in London, cease to be a part of local government anywhere, considering the changed nature of crime and criminal which motor-cars (among other causes) seem to have produced? Now that unemployment has reached its present scale, should be able-bodied unemployed be considered as a problem for national local treatment? Who is to be responsible for young men between the age of fourteen (when they leave school) and sixteen

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(when they become insured)? How can the service of providing sickness and medical benefits for those insured under the National Health Insurance Scheme (which is not the concern of the local public health authorities) be co-ordinated with the health services which are a part of local government?

Secondly there is the co-ordination of local areas and authorities. County boundaries will never be altered except by action of the central government. Within each county it is the responsibility of local authorities to correct and re-arrange boundaries; but however efficiently that work is done, local government cannot be properly planned until the larger areas of county and county-borough are rationalized. The metropolitan area is the most obvious instance, but there are many others. The development of motor-transport; the shift of industry; the marking-out of certain parts of the country as catchment areas under the Land Drainage Act; the division of Great Britain into large areas under the Road Traffic Act, on the one hand, and under the Electricity Supply Act on the other; similar re-partitioning of the country for such purposes as providing more wisely for the care of vagrants or supplying a library-service over areas wide enough to be economical; and finally the development of Town and Country Planning Schemes: all, it seems, combine to make the central government more than ever responsible for planning on a national scale. Otherwise these various services will be planned in watertight compartments by separate local authorities, and the last state of the country will be worse than the first.

Finance is the third question. By the Rating and Valuation Act, 1925, and the Local Government Act, 1929, the national policy of taking political action in aid of industry was applied to one side of local government finance; agriculture and industry were relieved of some part of the rate-burden, and an attempt was made to allocate contributions from the national exchequer to local authorities on a basis which took account of the burden of unemployment. Consequently rates have now to be collected from a narrower field of contributors; and the field is narrowed still further when much property in a distressed area stands unoccupied and no rates are paid in respect of it. It seems, in fact, that until some substitute is found for rates, finance will continue to be an obstacle in the way of any considerable improvement of the local government services. At present, however, there is no likelihood of any radical reform in this direction; and meanwhile the question remains whether the machinery of valuation could not be improved by giving the Central Valuation Committee compulsory powers, and by gradually substituting professional for elected bodies as assessment authorities, on the analogy of regional Traffic Commissioners. Could not the existing system of

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Inland Revenue Valuers be adapted eventually to the needs of local government finance?

The other two financial responsibilities of central government are loans and audit. Local authorities have always been compelled to conform to national policy in the matter of capital expenditure. I cannot at this stage discuss the changes in national policy during the last ten years or the wisdom of the different plans; but the question may be asked how far the liberty of local authorities should be curtailed in the interests of a national plan of development. Is any loan simply the concern of the local authority raising it? And supposing, for instance, that the Government decided to start lending on a large scale to industry, under a Trade Facilities Act or something of the kind, or to encourage large expenditure on public works, or to do both, as parts of a single plan—would it not be the central authority's duty to control local government borrowing even more closely than it does now?

The fourth responsibility of a central government which wished to have the public services planned, would be the local government officer. However much liberty it might leave to the local authorities in the final selection of officers, it would have to establish a national superannuation scheme for local government officers throughout the whole country, and a national or regional system of recruitment, unless it was prepared to acquiesce in the existing state of affairs; for the local authorities can hardly be expected, either individually or through their associations, to invent and put into practice a national system without central help.

There remains the need (which only central government can supply) of a consolidated body of local government law. The Interim Report of the Local Government and Public Health Consolidation Committee¹ and the Bill now before Parliament are steps in this direction; but the end can only be reached by the expenditure of similar effort over a considerable period of time, for what is needed is the co-ordination of all the separate plans of local government activity into a single whole, and this task is necessarily controversial as well as complicated.

Apart from legislation, the central authority has the further and no less important work of informing, advising and inspecting the local authorities, and if necessary coercing defaulters. If the local authorities are to co-operate in the execution of a national plan, they must be kept continuously in touch with headquarters. The Government's agricultural and industrial policy, for instance, should affect their programmes of agricultural and technical education. The Minister of Health has recently provided an instance of this kind

¹ Cmd. 4272 of 1933.

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of co-operation, in the circular which urges local authorities to wage a five-year war on the slums. The providing of a time-table of this kind has obvious advantages, especially if there is the suggestion that coercive measures may be used against defaulters. Again, local authorities need the help of statistical information (about population, industrial development and so on), if they are to make reasonable plans against the future.

So much for the duties of central government. The peculiar responsibilities of a local authority may be considered under two heads. It must fit into the national scheme, and its internal organization must be such that the best possible use is made of officials and elected Members. How is it to fulfil the first condition? (1) First, by making use of the information and advice provided by the Central Government. Willingness to raise or lower the level of wages and salaries; speed in the formulation of schemes of capital development; readiness to forgo, say, market-rights, if such a surrender is required by an agricultural marketing scheme, or to accept a revision of the formula whereby exchequer contributions are calculated—has the Central Government a right to expect such things as these from local councils?

(2) Secondly, the success of a national scheme depends on the effective co-operation of neighbouring local authorities. The Local Government Act, 1929, made county councils responsible for making such arrangements within their own areas that only whole-time Medical Officers of Health would in the near future be employed by the various health authorities. Similar arrangements for the provision of isolation hospitals had to be made. The county was sub-divided for purposes of assessment, and of public assistance also; and a thorough review of district boundaries was started. For this rationalization to be successful it is particularly necessary for all the local authorities within each county to co-operate. Further, if the water supply in rural areas is to be improved, there must be an increasing degree of mutual support among neighbouring authorities. And if regional planning of town and country is to succeed, not only county and district councils but county borough councils must co-operate. Another re-arrangement of areas within the county has been made necessary in recent years by the gradual re-organization of education; for schools are being re-grouped in such a way that children can pass on at the age of eleven from all the junior schools in an area to a single senior school. All these concurrent changes give county and county borough councils a special opportunity of concerting plans of action and co-ordinating the various parts of their work. Will they rise to the occasion?

(3) Thirdly, local authorities must co-ordinate their activity with

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that of unofficial bodies, building societies, farmers unions and the like, on the one hand, and clubs, occupational centres, universities, churches, &c., on the other. A Rural Community Council or a Local Council of Social Service, on which local authorities and voluntary bodies are alike represented, is one way in which this can sometimes be done. Would a further co-option of outside persons on the committees of local authorities help to serve this purpose, supposing the principle were established that the function of co-opted members was not to vote, but to make suggestions and to advise what would be likely to follow the adoption of a particular policy?

Finally, there is the local authority's internal organization to consider. What part should officials and elected members be asked to play in the devising and carrying into effect of a satisfactory plan of action? The following suggestions are tentatively put forward as a starting-point for further inquiry.

The head officials must know one another personally, and they will not do so unless they meet at frequent intervals. This suggests that one among them ought to be recognized as definitely head, or at least as *primus inter pares*: otherwise it will be nobody's responsibility to keep them in touch with one another. From every point of view it is advisable that the official position of each departmental head, and the mutual relation of each to the others, should be clearly known from the start.

One of their collective duties (I suggest) is to use all their experience in considering how the work of the council can best be divided among departments; another is to keep in touch with the central government, with other local authorities and with other bodies working in the same field; and a third duty is to present a body of coherent advice to those actually responsible for the local administration.

To whom should this advice be presented in the first instance? Each council, I believe, ought to have a General Purposes Committee (call it what you will), consisting of the chairmen of the other committees; and the chairman of this committee should be in the case of a county council the chairman of the council, and in all other cases some councillor or alderman, regarded, so long as he holds that position, as the administrative leader of the council. Probably he had better not be the mayor, for the mayor has to spend too much time on ceremonial duties. This committee would work in close and continuous touch with the head official and other departmental chiefs, using their experience and advice in order to keep the whole work of the council under review.

Once a year this committee must present to the council a complete budget-statement, indicating the plan upon which all the various

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services are to be administered throughout the next twelve months. On this occasion the council should have a full debate. The General Purposes Committee must afterwards take into consideration the opinions expressed in council and present to an adjourned council-meeting the plan as amended; and this process must be repeated until the council accepts the plan as a whole. The committee system and departmental organization should be settled in the same way, by a vote of council eventually accepting the proposals of the General Purposes Committee.

How then can the plan be carried out? It does not matter how big the council is, so long as the committees appointed by it are small, consisting of not more than a dozen members. The larger the council, the fewer committees need any one councillor have to attend, and the greater likelihood is there that every member of council will become thoroughly acquainted with at least one side of the council's work.

These small committees must be allowed considerable freedom to do their work uninterrupted, so long as their actions remain within the framework of the policy adopted by council. Their efficiency will largely depend on the attitude adopted by elected members to the officials and on the kind of agenda prepared for their meetings. All is likely to be well if members realize their responsibility for the actions of the committee and yet, because they trust the officials to bring any matter to their notice which needs discussion, refuse to discuss mere details, and if officials on their side use judgment in deciding what to refer for decision to the committee and what to decide for themselves.

Further, it is most important that at regular intervals (say every three months) each committee should receive from its head official a report on the general work of the department in the last period and a recommendation concerning the next, and in the light of that information make such report as seems necessary to the General Purposes Committee. Only in this way will the latter committee be able to keep continuously in touch with the council's work, and to advise council what action should be taken from time to time. Council could thus work on an agenda prepared for it by the General Purposes Committee (on the advice, of course, of the head official); at its ordinary meetings it would have an opportunity of progressively giving substance to the plan; and it would be rather less likely than it is at present either to waste time in constantly re-discussing the same questions, or to prevent, by a decision taken on the report of one committee, the execution of some policy on which it had embarked a moment earlier by accepting another committee's report.

I am conscious that innumerable difficulties remain to be dis-

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cussed—the relation, for instance, of the Finance Committee to the General Purposes Committee; the possible difficulty of working any such plan without a system of local party politics to give stability to the council; the awkwardness of arranging a time-table into which the annual election of certain councillors and the presentation of the council's budget can both be fitted; the unfortunate necessity of appointing certain statutory committees of fixed size and comparatively independent status; and so on. But I suggest that only if some scientific division of labour can be achieved, of such a kind that both officials and elected persons have opportunities of making their own peculiar contribution to the work of local government, will the best people be attracted to the service in either capacity; and unless this condition is fulfilled, no national plan can either be made or carried out.

Planning in the Public Services in Relation to Changing Economic and Political Conditions

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[*Paper to be discussed at the Summer Conference of the Institute of Public Administration, Oxford, July, 1933*]

“PLANNING” is a word much in use at the present day; and it will perhaps be useful to ask ourselves, before we consider more closely the conditions necessary to the formulation and carrying into effect of an integrated and comprehensive policy in the public services of the State (for that I take to be the definition of planning in its national aspect) to what its sudden emergence is due.

That the activities of the persons engaged in a common business, whether it be the business of manufacturing cotton-piece goods or the business of administering the public services of the State, should be co-ordinated and related to the object to be achieved—that they should, in other words, work to a plan—is elementary. “Planning,” so far from being a new idea, is and always has been fundamental to the conduct of any operation whatsoever. The present-day insistence upon planning does not mean, therefore, either that a new need has arisen, or that a new invention has been made. It means simply that, as a result of some change in circumstances, we are becoming increasingly conscious of a process which has hitherto been subconscious. In a healthy organisation planning is automatic and subconscious, just as digestion is automatic and subconscious in a healthy body. It is not until our digestion goes wrong that we begin to think and talk about it; and the fact that to-day we are all thinking and talking about planning suggests that the normal operation of planning, fundamental to the conduct of any business whatsoever, has for some reason become deranged.

That this is so is plain enough in almost every sphere of our national life. The fact that in the last century planning was never mentioned in relation, let us say, to the cotton industry or to the machinery of local and central government does not mean that those

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organisations did not work, and work very closely and, within their limits, effectively to a plan. It means that they found no difficulty in so doing. The problems confronting the general manager of a cotton mill or the Prime Minister of the day were relatively extremely simple, and were such that he could without undue labour acquaint himself with the whole of the considerations involved. That is visibly no longer the case. The considerations to be taken into account in formulating an industrial or a national policy, and the difficulties involved in carrying such a policy into effect have become so numerous, so complicated and so great that it is becoming evident that men are losing control of the organisations which they have created, that co-ordination both within individual organisations and between separate organisations is ceasing to exist, and that there is real danger that industries and governments, like great ships no longer under control, may blunder into one another and founder.

The vastly increased complexity, then, of practically every human activity is the change in circumstance which has rendered us conscious of a serious derangement in the hitherto relatively simply and sub-conscious process of planning. This increased complexity tends almost inevitably to be accompanied by an increased rigidity due to the fact that multiplicity of business in whatever sphere encourages departmentalism. A big retail shop can no longer be run under the personal control of a single proprietor, variable from day to day to meet emergencies or new situations as they arise: management must necessarily pass more and more into the hands of heads of departments and sub-heads of departments, each with restricted powers and without full knowledge of what is happening in other departments. Whereas the proprietor of a small shop can change his policy at a moment's notice to meet changing circumstances, to change or even to modify the policy of a really large distributing concern, or even to ensure that there shall be a unified policy at all, requires careful, elaborate and prolonged staff-work. What is true of a department store is *a fortiori* true of an industry and still more of a government.

To say however that the defects of our planning machinery—whether in industry or government or any other sphere—are due to the increased and increasing complexity of the matter with which it has to deal and the increased and increasing rigidity of the manner in which, in present circumstances, we are compelled to deal with it is hardly a sufficient diagnosis. To what in its turn is this increased and increasing complexity and rigidity due? It is, of course, to quite a considerable extent due to the general increase in human activity resulting from the very great scientific and material progress of the last century, to the immense development in communications

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(especially world communication) which has created a network of relations which scarcely existed two or three generations ago, to the invention, among other things, of the typewriter and the telephone and the innumerable other contrivances which, by enabling us to perform easily in an hour tasks which our grandfathers or even our fathers found too great for a day, have not, as was anticipated, diminished, but on the contrary have greatly increased our labours, and to the rapid increase in population during the last century which has involved the undertaking by local or central government of services which had obviously outgrown private enterprise. But if this were all, it could be, and indeed has been, dealt with easily enough by increase of man-power. It is true that increases of man-power at the bottom generally increase rather than diminish the burden of the man at the top, and that to the extent to which it is necessary to increase the number of the men at the top, co-ordination becomes more difficult and the process of planning less automatic. But it is not a mere arithmetical increase in activity which has brought about our present difficulties. Two fundamental changes, the first moral, the second material, have taken place in the direction of human effort. The first is the growth, very rapid in recent years, of the belief that it is the business of the community to secure for the individual citizen something more than the mere preservation of his life; and the second is the fact that, for the first time in the history of the world, there is now no commodity, from the most simple to the most complex, which cannot, at any rate in theory, be produced in quantities far exceeding the maximum visible demand. Both these changes affect profoundly every sphere of human activity. From the first it results that the individual is no longer free to pursue the acquisition of wealth without regard to the interests, as distinct from the mere elementary rights, of his fellow citizens, and that the State is faced with the task of intervening in, and thereby increasing the cost of, the whole process of industry, while at the same time ensuring for the industry of the nation as a whole a fair field of operation. From the second it results that whereas formerly there was an active demand for almost every commodity, so that almost the sole object of national economic policy was to increase supply, a comparatively simply matter, now the task is to regulate supply while at the same time facilitating distribution and increasing demand—a problem of the greatest possible complexity. Moreover, the effect of both changes is accentuated by the simultaneous growth of internationalism in commerce and nationalism in economics and politics, so that not only the individual industrialist, but governments as well have to allow at every stage for factors which are not only uncontrollable but also to a large extent incalculable.

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Finally, it is to be observed that the very causes which tend to render planning more difficult at the same time render it more essential. If planning is necessary to the conduct of a simple operation it is far more necessary to the conduct of a vast network of interacting obligations and interests. No elaborate planning machinery is necessary to guide a government in the preservation of a reasonable measure of domestic order and of such defences as may be found necessary against external aggression. But the objects of national policy are no longer confined within these comparatively narrow limits; and it is wise to ask ourselves whether the planning organ within the Constitution, whatever it was, which acted subconsciously, effortlessly, and effectively for our forefathers can be assumed without question to be still capable of so acting to-day.

II.

The question then, so far as the public services are concerned, is whether the planning organ in the body politic is still capable, in modern conditions, of functioning effectively; and, if not, what steps can be taken to make it so capable. For this purpose we must examine the existing facilities for planning in the public services.

For nearly two centuries our planning organ has been the Cabinet, consisting of individual Ministers, each responsible for and presumably in accord with the policy of the whole, but each the head of a Department and advised in all matters relating to the work of that Department by permanent civil servants. There is a real danger that as a result of the immense increase in departmental business already referred to, the function of Ministers as members of the Cabinet should become subordinated to their function as heads of Departments. So long as their departmental work was not unduly burdensome, and so long as the business of the State was restricted within reasonably narrow limits, it was completely possible for Ministers to function as heads of Departments within their own offices and to retain round the Cabinet table a truly objective view of the policy of the Government as a whole. The danger to-day is that on the one hand the business of the great Departments of State should become so burdensome as to leave to the Minister in charge of each neither time nor energy for objective thinking: and that on the other the business of the State as a whole should become so comprehensive that the Cabinet is compelled to accept almost without question the view of the Minister whose Department is responsible for the particular matter under discussion.

To guard against this possible encroachment upon the planning organ of the State two lines of defence have been suggested. The first is to create some external body capable and charged with the

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duty of presenting to the Cabinet an objective view on broad questions of policy. The second is by some means so to ease the departmental burden of the members of the Cabinet as to place them back in the position of their predecessors of last century. The appointment of the Economic Advisory Council has been referred to (see, *e.g.*, Mr. Colin Clark's paper in *PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION* for July, 1932) as an example of the former. The creation of the War Cabinet was an example, limited both in scope and purpose, of the latter.

While however the Economic Advisory Council may afford valuable guidance to those who would advocate the establishment within the constitution of a separate planning organ external to the Cabinet, it will hardly, I imagine, be contended that the Council itself was ever intended to serve this purpose in the sense, at any rate, in which the word "planning" is relevant to this discussion.

In the first place it is surely elementary that any organ charged with the duty of planning should present a single plan and speak with a single voice; and if, as in the case of the Economic Advisory Council, its function is advisory—if, that is to say, it is not charged, as the Cabinet is charged, with the responsibility for carrying its plan into effect—then it is essential that the single voice with which it speaks should be in general accord with the known views of the Government to whom its advice is tendered. Neither qualification can exist in a body whose members are appointed without reference to their general political views. Expert criticism, in the sense of a judicial presentation of fact, is of value from whatever source it is received, and a body formed on the model of the Economic Advisory Council is well qualified to give such criticism; but it would surely be useless for any Government, whatever its complexion, to seek constructive contributions to the formulation of policy from a body many of whose members may hold views which are irreconcilable with the general line of policy which the Government is pledged to pursue.

This difficulty could no doubt be obviated by appointing to any such external planning organ as we have under consideration only such persons as are known to hold views which are in general accord with the complexion of the Government of the day. The result would be to produce a homogeneous body who might be expected to tender advice which would be acceptable to the Government; but it is not clear that the policy propounded by a party Council of this kind would be either more objective or more valuable than that which the Cabinet would be capable of formulating for itself. Such an arrangement would mean, in effect, that the leaders of the party in power, on the ground that they themselves were too occupied to formulate their own policy, would delegate to others who, *ex*

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hypothesi, had not been found worthy of Cabinet rank, the most important of all the functions of government. It would seem inevitable either that such a Council would be disregarded, or that it would itself usurp the functions of government.

In fact it does not appear practicable that the function of planning should be performed by a purely advisory body. The planning organ within the State, if it is to be effective, must also be responsible.

This brings us to the second alternative referred to above. It was an essential element in the constitution of the War Cabinet that the majority of its members should be wholly free from departmental responsibility, while at the same time the fact that they were members of the full Cabinet, which continued to function, ensured that they would be familiar with purely departmental problems and policies. They were thus enabled at once to receive from the full Cabinet ready-made decisions on such purely or mainly departmental matters as must in any case occupy a considerable part of the attention of the supreme Government of any State and which form a large part of the material out of which the policy of the State as a whole is woven, and to bring both to the work of the War Cabinet and to that of the full Cabinet the truly objective and comprehensive view which is essential to the formulation and conduct of an integrated national policy. They were, of course, in form an advisory body in the sense that responsibility for the conduct of the war no less than for the government of the country rested with the full Cabinet; but in effect, inasmuch as the rejection of their advice would necessarily have involved their resignation, they were executive. It was possible for them, in the absence of special departmental responsibilities, to meet as often as might be required. Finally, there was available for their use the services of the newly created Cabinet Secretariat, without which indeed they could hardly have functioned.

It would be outside the scope of this paper to consider whether the re-creation of such a body would be either possible or desirable in the very different conditions which exist to-day. It may, however, be worth while to consider how, if it were re-created, such a body would function.

III.

The actual formulation of policy is not the whole process of government. It is necessary both to bring together the material out of which policy is woven, and to take the necessary action for carrying policy, when formulated, into effect. These two are the functions in the main of the civil service. "Planning," therefore, affects the Departments in two ways. They have to assist their respective Ministers in the continuous process of planning; and they have to

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see that the executive work of the Department is in accordance with the plan as laid down by Ministers.

The formulation of the policy of the State as a whole consists in the main (but by no means entirely) in co-ordinating and forming into a single whole the policies pursued or to be pursued in the matters for which individual Ministers and individual Departments are responsible: national planning is, in fact, to a large extent dependent on departmental planning. In so far as departmental planning is narrower in scope and has less material to deal with, it is less open to the dangers of over-complexity and over-rigidity which threaten the conduct of national planning. There is no reason to suppose, for example, that the Ministry of Pensions or the Post Office is or is likely in the near future to become incapable of formulating or does not in fact work in accordance with a single, comprehensive and adequate plan, even if we may sometimes wonder whether the right hand of the Board of Trade or the Ministry of Health always knows what is up its left sleeve. If, however, and in so far as some Departments, as a result of the sheer mass of work which in modern conditions falls to be performed by them, are in danger of being compelled to follow an *ad hoc* rather than a planned course, this is a condition which can be dealt with, as it has been dealt with before, by the creation, if necessary, of new Departments by sub-division of the old.

There would, in fact, appear to be no essential difficulty in the way of the formulation and execution of policy within the Departments; the difficulty is, as suggested above, to ensure that the policy pursued by individual Departments is consistent with, and has been adopted with due consideration for the policy of other Departments—that in fact we have a national policy and not a mere collection of departmental policies which may or may not follow divergent courses. There is, no doubt, constant consultation between Departments; but inter-departmental consultation of this kind is almost necessarily confined to details of policy (however important those details may be) rather than to policy itself. The co-ordination of departmental policies both *inter se* and with national policy can hardly be effectively carried out except by some authority external to the Departments themselves.

It would appear therefore to be a matter for consideration whether, quite apart from any possible reorganisation, such as has been suggested in some quarters, of the work of the Cabinet, there is not room for the creation of a Department charged with the preparation of material for the consideration of policy as a whole by the Cabinet and with the duty of ensuring that departmental action is in accordance with the policy so formulated. There are

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obvious difficulties in the way of such an arrangement, but those difficulties would not appear to be any greater than the difficulties, which have in practice been quite successfully overcome, inherent in the relationship between the Treasury and other Departments.

IV.

Our consideration has hitherto been confined to the central planning organ in the State (so far as those matters which fall within the sphere of government are concerned), namely, the Cabinet and the Departments whose function it is to prepare material for and carry out the policy of the Cabinet. While, however, the Cabinet is and must remain the central planning organ, it is being urged with increasing force that if we are not to experience in this country that revolt from Parliamentary Government which is so marked a feature of post-War Parliamentary history abroad, it is essential that the process by which Parliament is increasingly losing the power to influence the formulation and control of policy should be checked. The immense growth in the business of the State which threatens to impair the power of the Cabinet to take an objective and comprehensive view of policy as a whole has had an even greater effect upon Parliament; for whereas in the executive sphere the Cabinet is able to confine its deliberations to question of policy and to leave details of administration to the Departments, in the legislative sphere Parliament has to do its best to deal with questions of policy and details of administration alike; and in the event of conflict it is policy rather than detail that tends to go to the wall.

Various methods of relieving the congestion of detail in Parliament have been suggested. Perhaps the most obvious is that adopted in the United States of America and elsewhere, namely, that every Bill should in the first instance be assigned to a standing committee appointed to consider all business relating to a particular subject. In fact this method has been adopted here for many years past in the case of local Bills, all of which are referred to the Local Legislation Committee or to one of two Standing Committees appointed annually for that purpose. Dealing every year with anything from 80 to 150 Bills, many of them of very considerable length and some of them raising questions of very great importance, these committees, on which the same members sit from year to year, with the assistance of a body of highly skilled and experienced specialist counsel and of a number of departmental representatives, have built up a corpus of practice and precedent of the utmost value. In practice, however, this arrangement is effective only within narrow limits. Experience has shown that in its application to matters of political controversy it wastes rather than saves both time and energy. It

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is, however, for consideration whether the analogy of the Local Legislation Committee might not be extended, for example, to cover all Bills dealing with the powers of local authorities and possibly other large categories of legislation.

More radical are the suggestions which have been made for the devolution by Parliament of some of its powers to other bodies; but those which have hitherto been discussed have almost without exception been based on a *geographical* redistribution of legislative functions. It is perhaps worthy of consideration whether a substantial measure of devolution on *functional* lines might be found not only more useful in relieving Parliament, but of greater value in contributing, under the general co-ordinating control of the Cabinet and Parliament, to the creation of an integrated and comprehensive national policy. One such functional devolution has already been effected in the passage of the Enabling Act; and experience has shown that this measure of devolution has not in fact deprived Parliament of the power of ultimate control. It is, I submit, not without significance that the only occasion upon which Parliament has been called upon to spend any material amount of time on matters arising out of the Act was one in which serious matters of principle were involved, and that upon that occasion the action of Parliament was strictly limited to the consideration and decision of those principles, and that, by common consent the debate reached a higher level of excellence and real significance than is often the case.

Co-ordination and Planning in Local Government Administration

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[Being the Winning Essay in the Haldane Essay Competition,
1932-1933]

SYNOPSIS.

- (1) **Introduction. Two questions.** (a) Why is co-ordination so essential to-day? (b) Are not present arrangements sufficient?—**Two distinctions.** Inter-authority; Inter-departmental; Primary importance of latter: County Borough, the best example. (2) **Necessity.** (a) Incompetence of Councils. (b) Increasing unity of services, yet watertight. (c) Economy. (3) **Ways in which co-ordination may be achieved.** (a) Method. (b) Principle. (c) Policy. (4) **Factors assisting and combating the exercise of co-ordination.** **Against:** (a) Opinion. (b) Lack of consolidation in Local Government Law. (c) Exclusion of some departments from the Block Grant. **For:** (a) Block Grant; Aid to general survey of needs. (b) Block Grant; Aid to planning. (c) Scheme procedure. (5) **Application of the three methods.** Meaning of Rationalisation. (a) **Method.** Central Purchasing, Transport, Stationery, Audit and Costing. (b) **Principle:** Finance, Central Purchasing, Woman's Advisory, Establishment. (c) **Planning:** Co-ordination and Planning Committee. (6) **Position of the Finance Committee.** Finance as distinct from policy. Are Finance Committees representative? (7) **Possible improvements.** (a) **In the Administrative.** (1) Liaison Members, Birmingham. (2) Liaison Committees, Manchester. (3) Grouped Committees, A.M.C. Report. (4) Length of service on Committees. (b) **In the executive.** Departmental autocracy. The Administrator and the Technician. Grouped departments with administrative heads. Impossibility of the City Manager. Emergence of City Administrator. The rise of Administration as a science.

TWO questions present themselves at the very beginning of an essay on Co-ordination and Planning in Local Government Administration. Firstly, what is making the development of the principles of Co-ordination so important at the present time, and secondly, if we admit that this necessity is now of an urgent nature, are not present arrangements sufficient to assure ample co-ordination.

It is not, however, sufficient to answer these two questions before going on to discuss the alternatives to the present system. We must first distinguish between two types of co-ordination, which, although the above questions apply to both, should not be confused and should

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be discussed quite separately. There is, on the one hand, the aspect of co-ordination between separate authorities—an aspect which, to reply to the first question, is being thrust upon us more forcibly every day, particularly by the rise of Town and Country Planning—and on the other hand, there is the aspect of co-ordination between the various departments of a single authority. It is apparent that the success of the inter-authority type of co-ordination depends in the final analysis on the extent and success of the inter-departmental type, and it is the latter aspect which it is the purpose of this essay to discuss. It is also our aim to establish the close connection between co-ordination of this nature and long-term planning.

If we are to discuss this type in all its aspects, it will follow, more or less inevitably, that we must discuss it with reference to that now most comprehensive of authorities, the County Borough. This inevitability is the result of the miscellaneous nature of the charters of our three other types of Local Authorities; the disjointed powers of the Rural and Urban Districts are such that it is impossible to apply fully the principles of co-ordination to their administration. The County Council, it is true, makes a fighting attempt to equal the County Borough in the facilities which it offers for co-ordination, but its duties are not sufficiently complete, and it lacks that unity which pervades even those county boroughs where co-ordination is at its worst. The County Council is more concerned with the means to establish co-operation between its constituent authorities.

Having established this differentiation of types and allied ourselves with the problem of co-ordination between departments, we are to prove then that in the first place co-ordination between departments is a growing necessity and at the same time, that the councils of local authorities under the present system of charters are incapable, on the whole, of assuring it without considerable amendment of their constitutions. It will then remain to discuss what efforts are being made to bring this about at the present time, the forces which are combating and those which are encouraging co-ordination, to discuss what improvements might be made to increase the element of co-ordination and finally, to offer, in a tentative manner, suggestions which might help towards its general adoption and application as a matter of course to all the intricacies and windings of the work of a modern local governmental authority.

The Lack of Co-ordination and the Incapability of the Council of Producing it in Spite of the Great Necessity

Let us reverse the order of our inquiry, and ask first whether the present-day councils are not sufficient in themselves to ensure co-ordination. It will become a simple matter to assume the lack of

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co-ordination in our city governments if we consider for a moment the sizes of the bodies which are in control of the administration of some of our largest cities where unity and efficiency are most essential. The whole question of the necessity for fresh developments will rest on this assumption, but it is an assumption which is well borne out by facts, and which would, no doubt, be readily supported by all who take an active part in local government administration.

The Council of the City of Manchester consists of 144 members, Birmingham of 121, Sheffield 97, while Liverpool heads the list with a Council of 156. Even in the smaller boroughs the numbers are startling in their unwieldiness; Salford has a Council of 63, Stockport 72, Blackburn 56, and Bolton 94. The County Councils are equally gigantic, Lancashire with its 137 members, its neighbour Cheshire with 75, and Surrey with 92. With such numbers co-ordination by the Council itself must be impossible. The amount of confusion and strife, the entirely conflicting opinions, and the ignorance of detail, which must exist on the governing boards of our most important cities is a serious matter. The possibility of a Board of Directors of a commercial undertaking with even fifty members is rare. The Manchester Corporation has divided its 144 members into 21 Standing Committees, and a further 16 Special Committees, all 37 of which are again formed into 135 Sub-Committees, which again divide in many cases into Sub-sub-Committees!

Assuming that by these facts we may agree upon the incompetence of the Council to supervise and co-ordinate sufficiently, we may consider secondly, the factors which have increased the need for co-ordination and for a co-ordinating unit; the first of these is the immense step which has been made in recent years in combining the work of local government in one pair of hands, if such a figure of speech may be used in referring to a body numbering between one and two hundred members. The Overseers and the Guardians have gone; they have been absorbed and re-appear in the local authority; the powers and duties of the local authority have expanded almost daily; every opportunity has been given for economy and efficiency in administration. Yet, because of the multiplicity of the Acts which have given rise to these changes, local administration still tends to be the administration of *ad hoc* boards with the single common link that they are responsible to the same council, and this very often, apparently, to their great regret. There is no doubt that if we are not to lose all the advantages which this growth of unity offers, we must find some persistent and powerful way of breaking up this "water-tight" tendency in our public administration.

Writing of a Co-ordination Committee, Mr. I. G. Gibbon says:—
"In a number of local authorities, at any rate, there is room

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for more co-ordination between the different departments. Each department, each principal committee, tends to go its own way, almost as an independent authority; this is in the nature of circumstances. If there is virtue in consolidating services—and if there is not, then much of the development of the last fifty years has been mistaken—it fails if the several branches of a local authority each goes its separate way. All the services need to be focused to a common purpose, the better to serve the needs of the community”

It may be interesting, before going on to our other chief cause, to mention a point raised by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb in their latest work, “Methods of Social Study.” They quote the following as an abstract from their diary when on a tour of the councils of the leading provincial towns:—

“Manchester Town Council turns out to be no better than that of Leeds. The most marked feature is the way in which the magnitude and importance of its work has outgrown its organisation. The different parts of the machine are out of joint, it rumbles on in some sort of fashion because it is pushed along by outside pressure, but it is always breaking down in the efficiency of its administration. The men running the organisation are not a bad lot, one or two of the officials are distinctly able, but there is no head of the concern, no one who corresponds to the general manager of a railway company, still less to its paid chairman. The mayor, elected for one year, has all his time absorbed by public meetings, social functions or routine administration. He is far more the ceremonial head of the city than the chief of the executive of the city government. The Town Clerk and his deputy are exclusively engaged in legal and parliamentary business, they spend most of their time in the lobbies of the House of Commons, in preparing leases, or in submitting bye-laws to the government departments.

The suggestion that the Town Clerk of Manchester can be something more than its solicitor and parliamentary agent, can fill the place of its chief executive officer, is, as things are at present, an absurdity.

All the officers are technicians—accountants, engineers, medical men, have the status not of administrators, but of consultants.

To make confusion worse confounded, each committee considers itself like an independent company, and reports as little as it dare to the council once a month, which is regarded by the Chairman and members of each committee as a superfluity which ought not to intervene.

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In short, there is no body whose special business it is to see that all parts of the organisation are co-ordinated and working to a common end. There is no cleavage in the council according to policy—the council drifts into subsidising the canal or working its own tramways or into direct labour in its public works, almost without due thought, and certainly without any discussion either of principle or of the special circumstances which make for or against the proposal before the Council."

Not until one learns that this extract was written in the year 1899 does the full significance of its meaning become clear. Unless the judgment of the Webbs was at fault (and we have every reason for believing to the contrary) the position of the Council to-day, when what improvement there has been made is not nearly sufficient to cope with the expansion of duties and responsibilities, can well be imagined. Neither the members of the council nor the officials can be blamed for this; it is the fault of circumstances; but it remains for the councillors and officials to overcome these circumstances. Since the Webbs gave their verdict on the competency of the council there have been Education Acts, Housing Acts, Town Planning Acts, Public Health, Electricity, and a multitude of lesser Acts. The city has extended its boundary considerably and increased its work a hundredfold. Does the necessity for a special force to ensure co-ordination need further proof?

The second reason for the immediate need for co-ordination almost as powerful as the need called for by development, is an exceedingly topical and unpleasant feature which demands that organisation must be efficient and complete—Economy, with a capital E, the watchword of the depression. With rateable values falling, the penny rate sliding rapidly down, and increased calls on the public services, particularly in regard to poor relief, the unhappy councils are searching everywhere for avenues where even a small amount of saving is possible. It would be pleasant to think that Local Administration sought economy for economy's sake, "as the most desirable development"; unfortunately this is not the case—they have no alternative.

Perhaps we have dwelt rather long on the need for co-ordination, but when one looks round there is such necessity and so little in actual practice, and present-day arrangements are so helpless in procuring it, that one might be forgiven in suspecting that few of those most concerned realise what is lacking.

Ways in which Co-ordination may be Achieved

It would be as well, before setting out the influences working for and against co-ordination, to set out briefly the three main classifications of ways in which co-ordination may be obtained. There is

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first, co-ordination of method, that is, the utilising of similar methods in all departments and a comparison of results as far as this is possible. The main features which we may include in this section are audit and, more importantly, costing. There is also enormous scope for this principle in the Trading Departments.

The second way in which co-ordination may be achieved is in the emergence of principles relating to the application of a specific policy in one sphere to all the departments of an authority. That is to say, the necessity of ensuring that where a similar problem arises in more than one department it shall be solved or treated in the same way. The first principle applies to actual practice and method; the second principle applies more to the theory of government, but it is still connected with the practical side. That all departments should recruit their staffs, both clerical and manual, on the same lines is primary example of the application of this principle; that one trading department should assist, and another not assist (except in special circumstances), the rate revenue is an incongruity which is in direct opposition to this principle.

The third type of co-ordination which is possible is in the realm of pure theory, and is perhaps the most important. It is the co-ordination of policy not in the narrow sense, but in the broad view of seeing, primarily, that the committees of the council each have an actual policy materially expressed in a proposed plan of development, and then of seeing that these plans are consistent, and provide a programme of *balanced* and economical development which is favourable to the good of the community. That there should be a committee whose duty it is to prepare, or to see that departments prepare, series of schemes of progressive development following a consistent policy, is a foregone conclusion when once it is realised that unless the work of the diverse sections of the authority develops, not in a haphazard and meaningless way, dealing with contingencies as they arise, but in a way involving foresight and planning, failure will be, in the long run, inevitable.

To quote Mr. Gibbon again:—

“ But would there not be some advantage if there were a committee of carefully selected members of the Council with the particular duty of formulating as far as that was necessary, long-term programmes for the decision of the Council, and still more (for the less the committee had directly to do itself, the more efficient it is likely to be) of seeing that such programmes are prepared by the various committees and of co-ordinating the plans? ”

The motto of this type of committee should be “ Plan or Perish ”;

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and it should bear in mind that a plan consists of closely associated ideas. "Death is the result of incomplete organisation" says H. G. Wells, writing of the constitution of the human body: bankruptcy and stagnancy will come to the authorities who do not organise themselves both with insight and with foresight. Indeed, many local authorities are feeling the approach of this now; their rates are high, loan charges are crushing, and they have completely lost the confidence of their electors. Nevertheless, never was there a time when there were such insistent demands on local authorities for increased expenditure which they dare not make.

Factors Assisting and Combating the Exercise of Co-ordinated Effort.

The discussion of the extent of co-ordination at the present time will lead directly to our prophesy of future developments so that it would seem advisable at this point to mention those influences which assist or retard co-ordination in the three ways which we have mentioned.

Like all new movements, the introduction of the principles of co-ordination meets with strong opposition from the opinions of those to whom it is hoped the principles will be applied. We may consider two statements, one from a member of a council, and one from an official of another council, which give some idea of certain states of mind which anyone interested in co-ordination must combat. Writing of the fact that York has no central Town Hall (an occurrence which we should consider of direct harm to the encouragement of co-ordination) Alderman J. P. Morrell says, in "How York Governs Itself," "Although the offices are separated there is not much inconvenience caused as they are largely independent of one another." Shades of co-operation! And an extract from the report of the City Electrical Engineer of Salford on the proposed amalgamation of the Gas and Electricity Committees (a union now effected):—

"I am very much against any co-ordination taking the form of joint working of the two departments, because they are so directly in competition all along the line, that I cannot conceive how joint working could possibly conduce to efficiency."

Whether the ratepayers, whose money finances this competition, are of a similar opinion is a matter for conjecture.

After this matter of conflicting opinion, there are two statutory causes which do not encourage the effecting of co-ordinated effort. The chief of these is the lack of consolidation in Local Government Law. It is true that the Act of 1929 has done a great deal to alleviate this burden, but a glance at the year-book of any county borough will show the immense number of Acts which confer the powers on the various committees. Co-ordination is simply part of a whole process

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of Rationalisation which needs to be applied to local government, but this need for consolidation of local government law is certainly a need which would assist both the search for co-ordination and for Rationalisation as a whole. This extends particularly to the statutes which compel Local Authorities to appoint certain committees instead of leaving it to the councils' discretion.

A minor fault of recent statutory action which weakens the possibility of co-ordination is the fact that certain services have, for various reasons, been excluded from the Block Grant.

We may mention briefly three factors which have helped the development of co-ordination, the first of which is the substitution of the Block Grant for a miscellany of smaller grants. We are not concerned with the question of the perfection of the Block Grant, but it must be admitted that it possesses an advantage which is frequently overlooked: local authorities are encouraged to co-ordinate by the fact that specific sums are not given to be applied to a specific purpose; the application of the funds is left to the discretion of the authority. Another advantage of this Grant is that by making the sum available certain for a certain number of years the authorities are encouraged to effect plans of development, which will not be cramped by the fear of the failure of grants to reach expectation or spoiled by thoughtless extravagance. It encourages the perfection of "scheme procedure" which is now becoming so much more popular in Housing, Town Planning, Education, etc., and which is a definite contribution to the success of co-ordination.

Application of the Three Methods of Obtaining Co-ordination

The World Economic Conference at Geneva in 1927 defined Rationalisation as the term—

"by which we understand the methods of technique and of organisation designed to secure the minimum waste either of effort or material. They include the scientific organisation of labour, standardisation of both materials and product, simplification of processes, and improvements in the system of transport and marketing."

This is admirable encouragement for our principles of co-ordination. The rising adoption of Central Purchasing has been exceedingly helpful in a standardisation of materials. Manchester has been able to reduce the variety of soaps used by its departments to less than half, and has made parallel savings with numerous other commodities. That the development of central purchasing even to the extent of central warehousing in the case of larger authorities, is a beneficial example of co-ordination will not, it is imagined, give rise to much controversy. The joint utilisation of motor transport, central typing,

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printing, and stationery supply establishments also offer a wide field of possibility for adoption. Probably the two factors which are most likely to expose the opportunities for co-ordination are the application of the internal audit to all departments, including Trading, and the adoption of unit costing. Costing is, without doubt, a young man with a future, applicable even more fully to inter-authority co-ordination. Method co-ordination shows great scope in administrative details in the Trading Departments. It is hard to discover why Gas and Electricity Departments in the hands of the same authority should be so rigorously separated. Edinburgh has a joint committee for Trading Departments, and Salford has adopted a joint committee for gas and electricity, but such examples are rare, and in fact, a proposal at Manchester a year or two ago to unite the gas and electricity departments found no seconder. Blackburn Corporation employs a most well-designed joint account for gas, electricity and water charges, and one or two other towns have similar arrangements, but this is rare, and even in these towns, the principle so well started seems to fade and die immediately. It is difficult to come across any authority which employs joint readers for gas and electricity meters, though it seems equally hard to discover any reason why this should not be done.

"In many towns," says Mr. Sydney Larkin, "we see meter readers following one another—or sometimes shamefacedly dodging one another, because even they think it idiotic—round the district, while the bills for the various services come in to the harassed citizen at various times."

"Specific Policy Co-ordination" is equally capable of extension almost *ad infinitum*. Manchester and Birmingham are well forward in this respect. Of committees for the co-ordination of policy in regard to one function, Manchester possesses the following:—Finance (which all towns must have), Central Purchasing, Establishment, Expenditure, Development, Woman's Advisory. Additions which are possessed by some towns and would be an advantageous addition if possessed by all, are such as Estates, Parliamentary, Workmen's, &c.

The third type of co-ordination can only be obtained by the institution which we have proposed, a Co-ordination and Planning Committee. Manchester has a committee of this name, but unfortunately after presenting four reports on the general organisation of the council, and succeeding in getting established a system of central purchasing it has ceased to play an important part—the field is held at the moment by the Expenditure Special Committee. This Co-ordination Committee is composed of a representative of each

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Standing Committee, and has for its terms of references the following:—

“To consider and make recommendations upon all matters or questions of principle and policy connected with the various activities of the Corporation, in which more than one of the Standing Committees of the Council are, or are likely to be concerned”

This is not sufficient. To quote from “A City Council from Within,” by Sir E. D. Simon: “The Co-ordination Committee should certainly be a permanent part of the organisation. It should be the most important committee of all.” It should have that additional power of supervising the plans of the committees so that each committee is on a well-defined path, each path leading to the same goal—the good of the community; the committees walking these paths should be well in sight of each other, capable of assisting each other when necessary, but, of course, slight divergence from these paths should be allowed or the position will be *nearly* as bad as walking on no path.

It is unfortunate that space does not permit a fuller investigation into the powers and possibilities of these methods of co-ordination. They are methods which are not infrequently mentioned but rarely discussed at any length. However, before leaving them for a discussion of more infrequent methods some consideration may be given to a suggestion which must often occur to anyone taking a general interest in local administration.

The Place of the Finance Committee

Why should this duty of Co-ordination not be left to the Finance Committee? After all, all questions of major importance resolve themselves in the last resort to questions of finance. This system would, however, be fraught with considerable drawbacks and even dangers. The outlook of a healthy Finance Committee should be one of intelligent parsimony, and though this outlook is an admirable one in a committee on whom rests the responsibility of finance, it is doubtful whether it would be a helpful asset to a committee for co-ordination and planning. “It is generally considered,” says Sir E. D. Simon in the work quoted previously, “that the Finance Committee should concern itself solely with the financial aspect and leave the control of policy to the Council.” There is, however, one factor which undoubtedly gives the Finance Committee a large measure of control; this is in the annual presentation of the estimates, and in those towns which have adopted any form of budgeting, this system is likely to have a great deal of beneficial effect. An analysis of the Finance Committee of three or

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four "sample" towns shows that as a rule Finance Committees are in no way generally representative of the remainder of the committees. *What Improvements in the Committee System might be Made to Increase Efficiency?*

In suggesting improvements to the committee system we are not venturing on altogether untried ground. In an appendix to his admirable work on "The Modern Development of City Government," Dr. E. S. Griffith has an admirable chart showing the way in which the Committees of the Birmingham City Council each contain Liaison Members. That is, committees of a similar nature, e.g., Baths and Parks, Art Galleries and Libraries, each have a number of members in common. That this system is capable of considerable extension with extremely beneficial results is without doubt. Another method, perhaps not quite so good, would be for a series of Liaison Sub-Committees similar to the Manchester Joint Housing and Public Health Sub-Committee.

In this respect it is interesting to find the following in the Memorandum of Evidence of the Association of Municipal Corporations to the Royal Commission on Local Government:—

"It frequently happens that whenever additional duties are imposed upon Local Authorities by Act of Parliament or otherwise, they at once establish a new Committee for carrying out the same, and that this committee puts forward a claim for a separate staff and a head official as their chief executive officer. The Association are of the opinion that in many instances it will be found that these Local Authorities have quite an unnecessary number of committees, each of whom has a staff directly responsible to them. It is considered that a great deal of overlapping in the carrying out of the functions invariably results, and that such a multiplicity of executive committees does not make for good and economic government. The Association, therefore, suggests that the Local Authorities should be recommended to scrutinise very carefully their practice and procedure in this matter with a view to the possible reduction of the number of executive committees and their separate staffs, and the merger of all functions and duties which have a common relationship in a greater or lesser degree under one committee which would naturally require a larger executive staff under the control of a responsible chief officer."

Why not, then, instead of having Liaison members or Liaison Committees actually group those committees which lend themselves to this treatment—and there are many—and assure that a constant policy is brought to bear on similar duties? The argument that the

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work would be of too heavy and complicated a nature does not warrant serious consideration; it simply intensifies the need for further rationalisation in the nature of work which committees are compelled to do, and a transfer of a considerable amount of this work which is of a routine nature to the official. The policy which is adopted in Edinburgh of replacing monthly reports to the council by reports covering the policy for a longer period is well worthy of adoption—the great improvement being that it is possible for the council to get a complete view of their committees' policies instead of a series of disjointed resolutions.

Before we leave this point we must not omit to mention the suggestion that, as detail is frequently considered inessential to pure administration—cf. the system of transfer of the heads of the Civil Service—it might be advantageous to prohibit councillors from serving on one committee for more than a certain short length of time. It is an idea which is not so outrageous as it appears at first sight.

Improvements in the Executive

Finally we must examine briefly the possibility and direction of improvement through alteration to the executive. The harmful effect on co-ordination of departmental autocracy is as great as it is difficult both to estimate and to prove, and there seems to be much ground for suspicion that co-ordination is more difficult between technical than administrative heads. There seems, however, to be an increasing public opinion that training as an administrator is as essential to a technical departmental chief as his technical training, and also that training in administrative and technical subjects is incongruous. This suggests the possibility of the appointment of administrative heads for all departments. The friction between departments which, it is to be feared, causes such a lack of co-ordination, would probably be greatly alleviated if more emphasis was placed on the scientific aspect of administration.

That the City Manager of the American type is a psychological impossibility in England will be obvious to anyone who reads White's "City Manager"; but whether there is not scope for something more of the "City Administrator" type to suit our English minds, it is not so certain. That this will be followed by the emergence of non-technical heads of *groups* of departments which each have a technical head also, is a development which has great possibilities, and there seems to be no obvious reason why there should not be transfers of administrative heads between departments as there is between authorities.

The problem of Inter-departmental co-ordination is a serious and important one. Every city is making its contribution in great or

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small changes, to the solution of the problem. It is significant that Ireland, Scotland, and England are all working on rather different lines. Let us hope that whoever finds the best solution, the others will not be slow to follow. Whether it will be England with her Co-ordination Committees, or Scotland with her long-term policy reports, or what is very possible, Ireland with her City Managers and small Councils, is a matter for the future to decide. Probably the future will show a merging of all three types, but until some solution is reached, local government administration is losing a great opportunity for increased efficiency, useful economy, and sound development.

International Organisation of Administrative Research

By ZOLTAN MAGYARY, LL.D.

*Professor in the University of Budapest, Director of the
Hungarian Institute of Public Administration*

I. A VERY considerable impulse has recently been given to the cultivation of the science of administration by the establishment during the past two-three decades of Institutes of Public Administration in many European and American States. Such institutes have been set up by universities or by the State or local authorities, or by independent foundations. They owe their origin to a common cause—namely, to the older administrative organisations and procedure proving more and more inadequate to solve the new problems. With the continual advance of its technical character there is a corresponding increase in the difficulty of surveying the work of administration. It is not only the outsider who finds it increasingly difficult to follow that work; even the members of the administration themselves are prevented by the stress of their routine work and by the heavy charges involved by their responsibility from meditating on how to further the up-to-date development of the administrative machine. So it is left to the said institutes to undertake the expansion and elaboration of the necessary perfection and development.

In the beginning there were difficulties; but that is over now. The institutes have won the confidence alike of the world of science and of public opinion: and the sphere of their influence is continually widening. This process has been particularly in evidence since the Great War; for it was as the result of the War that the new requirements made their appearance, while it became more and more generally appreciated that those requirements could not be met effectively except by an exact acquaintance with the facts and the choice of that one of the various possible solutions which was objectively the best.

There are many points of similarity between the post-War phenomena appearing in the several countries. In all countries alike the administration had to face a crisis. Everywhere alike the problems

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all revolve around the necessity of reducing the cost and enhancing the efficiency of the administration, that result may be obtainable by means similar to those employed during the last thirty years in tackling the problems of industry by the aid of scientific management. This, however, involves broaching or setting in a new light also other problems of a constitutional or political character.

II. A survey of the international situation displays a far-reaching divagation of methods and scientific tendencies, together with the one-sidedness resulting therefrom. A connection between these methods and tendencies the resulting elimination of one-sidedness would be of the greatest value from the scientific as well as from the practical point of view.

The most important manifestations of this divagation are as follows:—

(1) The separation in the field of administrative law and political science. During the last fifty years the European States have devoted considerably more attention to the cultivation of administrative law than to that of political science. Since the death of Lorenz von Stein in 1890 the neglect of political science has been particularly in evidence. In the United States of North America, on the other hand, where Political Science has developed independently of the Law School, very important and very extensive work has been and is being done in this field.

In France, where the development of administrative jurisprudence shows a remarkable advance, there is relatively little interest in political science. In reply to a question put by me, an eminent professor of the Sorbonne said this was due to the difficulties impeding the professors from obtaining access to the facts and problems of the administration, whereas jurisprudence had at its disposal the resolutions and findings of the administrative courts and authorities, which were available for the most part in print. This would appear to be equally the case in many other countries.

(2) The wide gap separating theory (science) and practice. All those thoroughly familiar with the life of the administration are dumb-founded by the ease with which—and the enormous extent to which—the administrative officials—even those who have university qualifications—turn their backs on science. Every administration is extremely prone to routine work; and the possession of power is a great temptation to the administrative organ in question to regard as correct its will merely because it has “the means” to carry the same into effect; and this leads in many cases to a lack of self-criticism.

Administrative routine is apt to get worn and hackneyed by constant repetition, and therefore to be unable to refresh itself. It is only science that can supply refreshment—the new vital energy and

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the new perspective. Without such advance the administration cannot be good. It was this need for progress that brought into being the institutes of public administration. On the other hand, the men of science—and here by science I mean both administrative law and political science—are often not sufficiently familiar with the life and problems of the administration to be able to guide that branch of public life or to light the way of its progress. Science has thus lost its contact with life (and indeed often takes a different direction); and this leads in the course of time to the development in the practical man of an indifference towards or even a contempt for science. This is frequently due to the isolated character of the scientific career. There are countries in which the professors of administrative law or political science pass through a career as readers or as teachers in some college to their chairs without ever having any practical knowledge of the administration.

(3) The scientific independence of Europe and America. The conditions in force in the two continents are very divergent. In Europe there is a vast variety of nations and States. In the United States of North America we have a single unit. The individualistic trend of Europe is matched in America by a tendency towards amalgamation. Whereas in Europe we have the force of social prejudices and historical traditions, in America we find democracy and the freedom of unrestricted self-assertion. The differences between the respective political and economic atmospheres are in evidence also in the State and administrative systems. But American scientists do not know Europe, and European scientists are unfamiliar with America, result being that in their works they reciprocally usually fail to take into account the conditions prevailing in the other continent. On the other hand, there are numerous problems—public service, local (municipal) administration or government, the territorial distribution of districts, and to-day that of public utility establishments and State undertakings, &c.—which are common to both continents. However, each of these problems assumes divergent aspects as a consequence of the divergent composition of society, of the question of economic frontiers so vitally important in Europe, and of the differences in respect of historical past. However, these differences considerably facilitate the reciprocal recognition of peculiarities and also assist us to establish the weak points of our own solution.

(4) The difference in attitude towards public administration in America and Continental Europe. There is a difference in the spirit and manner of development of the administration in those States (*e.g.*, in most of the States of the European Continent), in which the development of the institution of professional Civil Service

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(bureaucracy) anticipated the establishment (as a result of the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century) of the huge capitalist organisation of the economic life. And, vice versa, there is a difference in the position of the administration in Great Britain and the United States, where the traditions of the Civil Service do not reach so far back. Those who are familiar with the civil services of these countries must acknowledge their high standard and splendid spirit. This spirit differs, however, in many essential points from the bureaucracy of the Continent. Such points are the greater measure of initiative and independence, the development of personal responsibility, &c. In the development of these bureaucracies the decisive period was the last 50-60 years: and that has been the period of the development of economic "big concerns" (Grossbetriebe), and has coincided partly also with the development of scientific management. The results obtained by such management in the economic "big concerns"—as also in general the importance of the moments of economy and efficiency—have been thrown into relief long since in the working and development of the public administrations of these countries, *i.e.*, Great Britain and the United States.

There can be no doubt that efforts are being made, not only to enhance economy, but also to increase the efficiency and perfect the operations of administration and to secure a solution providing for the continuous maintenance of the results which it proves possible to obtain. These problems are, however, approached in a different manner in those States in which the economic life is stronger from that in force in those States in which the development of bureaucracy anticipated the establishment of the economic "big concerns." Great Britain and the United States, too, are on the one hand developing a professional bureaucracy; on the other hand the bureaucracies of the European Continent are on their part to allot a certain importance in the administration to the methods of scientific management.

The operations of the several Institutes of Public Administration are of necessity subject to the influence of the differentiations referred to above. That is why it is desirable that the directors of those Institutes and other organisers of administrative research should be enabled to establish contacts with the other systems or with the representatives of those systems and thereby to enhance the achievements and services of science in the field of administrative research to the utmost possible degree and to further the influence of science on the development of public opinion.

III. There are numerous subjects of prime importance in respect of research in the field of administration which are suitable for elaboration by international co-operation. These subjects must be classified—partly because international organisations have already

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been established for the cultivation of some of the groups or sections.

The principal groups of subjects are as follows:—

(1) Questions of Office Management—in which field the results and solutions achieved in the economic life can for the most part be adopted with slight alterations. However, in this field, too, there is need of a systematization of the several particular solutions and of an exchange of experiences. An organ operating in this field is the *International Institute of Scientific Management*, of Geneva, the original programme of which was in 1932 extended from questions of economic operations to similar problems of public administration.

(2) The question of personnel and, in connection herewith, an inquiry into efficiency. This is a question of vast importance partly connected with the previous one, though its solution is not covered by the programme of the Geneva Institute.

(3) The problems of local authorities and municipal administration. This field of inquiry is one of the liveliest and best organised. In very many countries the cities and municipalities have important research institutes and publications of their own. There are also regular series of congresses; and there is besides a permanent organ—the *International Union of Local Authorities*, with seat in Brussels.

(4) The unification of administrative statistics and of diagrams illustrating public administration, &c. In the interest of international comparative study it is indispensable that the statistical material should everywhere be extended to certain fundamental questions and should be elaborated by uniform methods.

The same is true of illustrative diagrams. It is desirable that a convention should be concluded respecting the unification of the system.

(5) The costs of administration and their relation to the national income. This is a field that has been very much neglected. There is the greatest divergence in the attitudes adopted in individual cases as to what public imposts should be taken into account when calculating the tax revenue—whether only local (municipal) rates and State taxes, in some countries inclusive of federal taxes imposts, or also the contributions payable to the various compulsory associations and business corporations (dues payable to dike and levee companies, agricultural, industrial and commercial chambers, or church taxes, &c.). It is, however, extremely difficult to fix the amount of the national income as a basis for the computation of the quota of public imposts. In this field too there is need of an international agreement.

(6) The problems of administrative law. Particularly suitable for international co-operation are the problems under this head originating from the economic headway made by the public administration (e.g., the legal questions under development connected with the public

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utility establishments and State undertakings, with public banking institutes, &c.). Two international institutes concerned with questions of administrative law have already been established—the *International Institute of Public Law* and the *International Institute of Comparative Law*, both in Paris.

(7) The economic activity of the public utility establishments (State undertakings) and of the State generally. This is a factor playing the most important role in the widening of the scope and field of activity of the public administration which still involves numerous unsolved problems alike of law (see above point 6), and of organisation and management. However, just as the economic life and industry are internationally to a large extent uniform in character, there are great similarities in this field, too; and for that reason the international organisation of research may be expected here, too, to produce important results.

(8) The question of the direction of the administrative "big concern." The development of the sphere of activity of the British Treasury, the widening of the sphere of influence of the Italian Premier, the regulation in France in 1932 of the control of the public administration, the legal status of the President of the United States of North America as Chief Executive, the development of the conception of general administration, &c.—all these moments point to the central importance of the problem of "direction," the solution of which is a *sine qua non* of any enhancement of efficiency and must for that reason be urgently effected by democratic and anti-democratic governments alike. It is a question belonging in legal respects to the spheres both of administrative and of constitutional law. Any perfection or rationalisation of the public administration must prove precarious which does not include the granting to the administrative organisation of an intellectual centre providing for the permanent maintenance of the results and standard achieved and for a timely improvement of the same. The only possible means of organising and perfecting the administrative "big concern" is to regard the administration as a unit and to always fit the several parts into that unit.

At the *International Congress of Administrative Sciences* held in 1923, Henry Fayol broached the problem of the administrative "big concern" and of the direction of the same, placing these questions in their proper light.

In this connection mention must be made of the *International Institute of Administrative Sciences*, of Brussels, which was constituted in 1930 out of the permanent Secretariat of the International Congress of Administrative Sciences and publishes a valuable periodical.

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At the same time we must point to the many-sided activity of the *Institutes of Public Administration* established in the *United States of North America* during recent decades, with particular reference to the significance of the comprehensive operations of the *Social Science Research Council*.

IV. What has been said above proves the enormous extent and divagation of the work of research in administrative science. That fact is sufficient reason for the furtherance of the international organisation of research by providing for the meeting at fixed intervals of the directors and organisers of administrative research. The movement is a relatively new one in the field of administrative research; but is rapidly gaining ground. The aims, organisation and methods alike of the several research institutes and of the above-mentioned international organs are extremely divergent, in many cases without any advantage resulting. The co-ordination of the work will sooner or later prove inevitable; but there can be no doubt that the situation is already ripe for a beginning to be made with that work, while in the event of a postponement of co-operation developments may arise which later on will defy adjustment to any systematic evolution.

The international organisation of the work of administrative research will involve many advantages. It will make it possible to avoid overlapping, to fill up gaps, to weigh results in good time, and to propagate the experiences made; while a comparison of the various situations and the variety of opinions must needs lead to many a fructifying impulse. But the organisation of this work has itself to be organised. The first step must be a judicious effectuation of this preliminary work.

To the *British Institute of Public Administration*¹ is due the credit for realising the opportune character of the problem and for initiating its solution. This memorandum has been drafted in compliance with the desire of the management of that Institute: it however contains the personal views of the author.

¹ Professor Magyary here refers to informal conversations which have recently taken place during his presence in London. The matter has perhaps scarcely reached the stage at which the Institute could assume a formal responsibility for initiating action along the interesting lines which he suggests.

Notes

THE ORGANISATION OF JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL WELFARE IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

By A. L. PEACOCK, D.P.A., F.S.S.

County Juvenile Employment Officer, Cambridgeshire

THE central authority for Juvenile Employment and Unemployment Insurance administration in England and Wales is the Ministry of Labour, which is responsible to Parliament for the proper conduct of the work. *Locally*, its administration is divided as between the Employment Exchanges of the Ministry of Labour and the Juvenile Employment Departments of Local Education Authorities.

This somewhat peculiar division in local responsibility has arisen because the Local Education Authorities are given, in the first instance, the option of undertaking the administration, but its exercise, in default of the option being taken up, lies with the local offices of the Ministry of Labour. On December 31, 1932, approved schemes were operative in the areas of 107 Local Education Authorities in England and Wales, including 50 county boroughs, 48 boroughs and urban districts, and 9 county councils; while the Ministry of Labour was responsible in 223 out of their 368 Exchange areas. It would seem that there are possibilities of friction in such a situation, but this is avoided because in every area there is only one responsible body, although there are differences in administrative practice depending upon whether it is the Education Authority or the Employment Exchange discharging the functions.

If the work is undertaken by the Employment Exchanges of the Ministry of Labour, it is paid for wholly out of national taxation, but if it is done by the Education Authorities only one-half of its cost in so far as employment administration is concerned, is borne by national taxation, the other half coming out of locally levied rates. The Unemployment Insurance work being paid for by a *per capita* grant from the Ministry of Labour on the basis of the number of juvenile Unemployment Insurance Books exchanged per annum.

Notes

Choice of Employment Procedure.

Just before the end of each school-leaving period, the schools provide the Juvenile Employment Administrators with school-leaving record cards for each child who is about to leave to take up employment. These record cards give full details as to the child's school career, medical history and general characteristics. This information plus personal interviews with the children and parents concerned, provide the basis upon which the Juvenile Employment Administrators assess the types of employment for which each child seems to be best suited. In some areas there is variation in this machinery to deal with public and secondary school pupils. Upon leaving school, the children are encouraged to register themselves for employment, and from this point onwards it becomes the business of the Employment Officers to secure suitable openings for them. This they do by maintaining close working relationship with all the employers in the locality, most of whom use the Juvenile Employment Offices as their medium for the recruitment of young labour, as is evidenced by the fact (according to the last published annual report of the Ministry of Labour), that the number of juvenile vacancies, both notified and filled, has nearly trebled during the last ten years. The securing of employment is by no means regarded as the whole duty of the officers concerned. They must ensure that the children so placed have really secured work for which they have aptitude. Accordingly, there is an after-care system by which touch is maintained with the homes of the children for whom employment has been found so that the parents know to whom to turn for further assistance, should the job secured not prove to be the best. This after-care visitation gives the officers opportunity of stressing the value of continued education and urging the children to take advantage of all the facilities for further education which the Local Authority have made available.

In the case of children suffering from some physical or mental defect, the ordinary official procedure gives place to necessary modifications, but exactly the same choice of employment efforts and subsequent after-care pertain, very special attention being given to all such cases.

Children leaving the schools to enter employment and registering at the local offices do not lose supervision until they become 18.

There is a voluntary National Association of Juvenile Employment and Welfare Officers of Local Education Authorities which has for its objects:—

- (a) To discuss in their broad aspect, matters relevant to or bearing upon the Administration of Choice of Employment,

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Vocational Guidance, Juvenile Unemployment Insurance, Continued Education, After-care, and the General Welfare of Adolescents.

- (b) To collect and collate information likely to be useful in the work, and in particular to observe and record for the information of members any marked features, changes or tendencies affecting the employment of juveniles that may occur from time to time.

In addition to this Association, there are a number of others specially interested in particular types of children and the problems connected with them.

The National Advisory Council for Juvenile Employment, set up by the Minister of Labour, deals with general questions relating to the employment of juveniles. From time to time, this Council institutes inquiries into special aspects of the problem and issues valuable reports for the guidance of the Government and the Local Education Authorities.

Juvenile Unemployment Insurance Administration.

Juveniles between 16 and 18 years of age come within the ambit of the general laws relating to Unemployment Insurance. On attaining 16 years of age, the boy or girl, on entering insurable work, has to secure an Unemployment Insurance Book, upon which stamps are affixed weekly by the employer. The present rates of contribution are:—

| | | | |
|--------------|------|-----------------|------|
| Boys | 5d. | Employer | 5d. |
| Girls | 4½d. | Employer | 4½d. |

If an insured juvenile becomes unemployed he can only sustain a claim to Unemployment Insurance Benefit if he is able to show 30 contributions to his credit, that is a minimum of 30 weeks insurable work. If the claim satisfies the general statutory conditions, it is allowed and benefit may be drawn for a maximum period of 156 days in the benefit year, which dates from the day the claim is made. The present rates of benefit for juveniles are:—

| | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| Boys 16 to 17 ... | 5s. 6d. per week. |
| Boys 17 to 18 ... | 8s. 0d. per week. |
| Girls 16 to 17 ... | 4s. 6d. per week. |
| Girls 17 to 18 ... | 6s. 9d. per week. |

The general procedure in securing fresh employment for these young people is the same as that described above, and every endeavour is made to secure that benefit claimants are brought into touch with educational and social agencies existing for their welfare, and after-care action is also put into operation.

Notes

In many areas where unemployment amongst boys and girls is extensive and prolonged, the local Education Authorities have set up Junior Instruction Centres which the children concerned are compelled to attend as a condition for the receipt of Unemployment Benefit. In these centres, everything possible is done to ensure continuance of physical and mental fitness, the young people engaging themselves in various forms of handicrafts and organised games. In other areas where the unemployment position is not so acute, the young benefit claimants are drafted into existing Technical and Evening Classes.

During the period that unemployment amongst juveniles in certain areas has been so great, it has been found necessary to transfer large numbers from their own towns to others in which there were better prospects. This has been done with the utmost care, the Administrative Officers being responsible for the securing of suitable lodgings and friends for the boys and girls transferred, and for general supervision in their fresh surroundings and work. This policy has proved to be a very successful one and has enabled considerable numbers of juveniles who might otherwise have remained unemployed for long periods to secure useful and progressive openings in other parts of the country.

The Juvenile Employment Offices do not confine their attention only to school leavers and insured benefit claimants. There are always numbers of boys and girls who lose their employment for one reason or another and have no title to Unemployment Benefit. These boys and girls are embraced within the general choice of employment procedure already described, so that there are three elements making up the Live Register in every Juvenile Employment Office.

- (a) Children leaving school who have not yet worked.
- (b) Children who have worked and lose their employment and have no title to Unemployment Insurance Benefit.
- (c) Children who lose their employment and are entitled to Unemployment Insurance Benefit.

Social Welfare.

Under the Education Act, 1921, Local Education Authorities are given powers to aid the social and physical training of young people. In effect, this often means direct financial assistance to the various voluntary organisations interested in the social welfare of the young. These voluntary organisations, which are very numerous, are now co-ordinated by a Central Committee set up by the Board of Education. Locally, there are similar co-ordinating Juvenile Organisations' Committees whose main objects are:—

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- (a) to promote the mental, moral, physical and social welfare of children and young people;
- (b) to stimulate local interest and public opinion about all questions affecting the welfare of children and young people, and to secure that so far as possible boys and girls have every opportunity of becoming healthy, happy and useful citizens;
- (c) to bring together all local organisations formed for the purpose of welfare work among boys and girls so as to secure mutual help and avoid overlapping and waste of effort and to ascertain how far the needs of boys and girls in the district are being met by existing local organisations;
- (d) to make a survey of existing local organisations and to compile and keep up to date a handbook for the information of voluntary workers, parents, education authorities, school teachers, magistrates and probation officers;
- (e) to strengthen existing activities, to suggest the lines upon which any new work should be framed and to assist in its development;
- (f) to develop healthy recreation and physical training by the organisation of inter-club activities and competitions.

Future Development.

Enough has been said to show that the general work of organising for the needs of young people in England and Wales has gone far, but each year that passes sees further provision being made by Parliament and the Local Authorities. It is likely that the future will show further co-ordination of existing services with a view to general development and the prevention of overlapping. It is true that the amount of work done in any given area varies with the local conscience. Much of the statutory provision is permissible, leaving each Local Authority to do as much or as little as it pleases in certain directions for the young people. Nevertheless, there is a growing standard and the smaller authorities vie with each other in providing services which will compare very favourably with those of the larger authorities throughout England and Wales.

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Things I Have Seen

By Sir CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., F.B.A. (Methuen,) 2s. 6d. net.

IN the course of a long life Sir Charles Oman has seen the rise and fall of the German Empire, has witnessed a small civil war in Switzerland, the abortive insurrection of 1903 in Spain, and the beginnings of the anti-monarchist rising in Portugal. All these things and more are described in this book; and where his personal observations fail, Sir Charles relies on his technique as a historian to provide a thoroughly interesting narrative.

The civil servant will note that Sir Charles had a narrow escape from becoming one of us; he was offered and refused a clerkship in the War Office. He worked at the Press Bureau and the Foreign Office during the War, and in this book he records some of his experiences as a temporary civil servant; but the book throws little light on the conditions of government in war-time. He is kind enough, however, to regard as "wholly unfair" the cynical hypothesis that the German airman deliberately refrained from bombing Whitehall, because the enemy were entirely satisfied with the way in which our highest authorities were conducting the war.

Little attempt is made to pierce beneath the surface of things, and there is a certain lack of humour in the narrative. Sir Charles complains, for instance, of the dinner, "casually served by untidy soldier-waiters" in a converted ambulance-train *en route* to Cologne in March, 1919. And although he himself describes the process by which on the British side truth was distorted in war-time, he shows a pained surprise that the German censorship had concealed from the Germans all knowledge of "the outrages committed by their military and naval chiefs."

It is easier to find fault with this book than to do justice to its vivid qualities. In the whole book there is no sign of dullness. The stories are worth telling, and are thoroughly well told.

W. D. S.

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Social Planning and Adult Education

By J. W. HERRING. (The Macmillan Company, New York.) 6s. 6d.

WE know something about town planning in this country, but activities of the kind described in this book are rather outside our ken. Chester County (Pennsylvania) initiated a "social planning" programme before the war, and in 1928 the American Association for Adult Education planned an experiment in adult education, the organization, namely, of adult educational activities on a county basis, Chester County being chosen as the experimental area. It was possible to fuse the two efforts, and the volume here noticed is an analysis of the resultant collaboration. Thus the Health and Welfare Council and the Adult Educationists have pooled their ideas and efforts to produce a co-ordinated scheme of social amenities, and a powerful stimulus to their effective operation and their extension. Most of the community services here described are in being, in one form or another, in this country: their co-ordination is usually lacking. There is much to be learnt from this study of the possibilities of associated action in the fields of public health, mental health, social service, education, recreation, physical planning, political and governmental planning, and the arts—which form the divisions of the Citizens' Plan of Chester County (*see* Appendix A, which might with advantage be read first)—and even from the account of the methods of inquiry and propaganda, though not all of these would be valid here. The difficulties in the way of a parallel effort in England would be considerable, but it should not be beyond the wits of our adult educationists to devise somewhere a similar experiment. Now that adult education is enlarging its horizon, diversifying its efforts, and touching new publics, it is ceasing to be primarily the concern of a small group of specialists, academic and administrative, and of voluntary associations. The time is ripe for inquiry into new possibilities and for resourceful experiment in the organization of new activities and new affiliations. This book will prove suggestive to those who can take the initiative in the penetration of fresh fields of inquiry and effort.

H. L. B.

Socialisation and Transport

By the Rt. Hon. HERBERT MORRISON, Minister of Transport in the Labour Government, 1929-1931. (London: Constable & Co. Ltd.) 1933.

IN the field of economic planning and industrial reform Mr. Morrison has made a noteworthy contribution. While courageously continuing his allegiance to the fundamental principles of Socialism, the author

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has woven into the fabric of socialist theory the practical details of efficient administration and business management. His plan for a socialized industry (applied in this book primarily to the London passenger transport undertakings) embraces the principle of freedom from political interference, from class interests, and from labour control, in order that the industry may be self-supporting and economically successful. This sound economic basis is advocated not only for the sake of the success of the industry itself, but especially for the favourable influence which such success would have upon the programme of industrial socialization in general. In other words, the author appreciates the fact that the socialized London Transport System must succeed or public opinion will not accept the practicability of extending socialization to the more important British industries. "There is no Socialist more in a hurry about the establishment of Socialism than I am," he says, "but I want socialization to be soundly conceived, well planned, and to achieve that success which will be a good advertisement and not a bad one for the Socialist idea" (p. 287).

The book is much more than an exposition of the London Passenger Transport Bill or of the socialization of British transport in general. It is a realistic and practical consideration of the concrete problems relating to the administration and management of socialized industries. Mr. Morrison, in order to "get to grips with 'brass tacks' of socialization," lays aside much of the "creed and dogma" so often foremost in controversial writings and draws upon practical experience.

The author introduces his discussion of industrial organization in the socialist state with an historical account of the transport situation in the London traffic area. Emphasis is placed on the inevitable failure of the principle of free competition and on the growth of co-ordination and monopoly under private ownership.

Throughout the book the author draws upon the London Passenger Transport Bill for practical illustrations of his theories relating to industrial organization. The theories may be summarized in part as follows: A selected industry should be consolidated under a single, undivided and unified public ownership having the form of a Public Corporation. Such Corporation should possess monopolistic powers, centralized responsibility and business management, and be subject to public accountability.

The indictment of free competition in the field of transportation is entirely convincing, and is adequately supported by cited experiences. Few will question the statement that, in the field of public services, "competition is wasteful, and on the whole, a check rather

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than an incentive to enterprise, development, and modernization " (p. 65). Equally convincing are the author's arguments relating to the economic doctrine of monopoly in its application to the London transport situation. Opinion even in capitalistic America would follow him thus far.

Granting that the exceptionally baffling situation in the London transport undertakings justifies the establishing of public ownership for London transport, moderate opinion, not wedded to socialism, will not so readily accept the more general conclusions relative to public ownership. Mr. Morrison believes that private management, motivated by the profit-earning incentive, requires in the public interest a meticulous, bureaucratic interference with management, while, on the other hand, a publicly owned undertaking " managed by a public concern for the public good " may be invested with greater freedom of management (p. 79). More evidence, however, is needed to convince the moderates that public regulation of private monopoly will inevitably fail to protect public interest. Administrative regulation of private industry, many believe, has not been sufficiently tested to prove its inadequacy, while experience so far has not unquestionably revealed the reliability of the " public interest motive " as an adequate protector of the public.

The author might well have pointed out that the increasing availability of the manager with a skilled " administrative mind," who is motivated by " personal pride " in successful management, to whom it matters little whether the industrial shares are owned by private individuals, local authorities, or the public at large, is an important factor in making for an easier transition from private to public ownership. Probably the availability of Lord Ashfield for the headship of the London Passenger Transport Board had at least a slight influence in winning Conservative Parliamentary support for Mr. Morrison's Transport Bill.

The most noteworthy contribution to the science of Public Administration is contained in the chapters on the " Public Corporation." The essential features of the " Public Corporation " as developed by the author are:

1. The Corporation is a public concern, entrusted with " the competent conduct of the undertaking committed to its charge."
2. Its officers " regard themselves as the high custodians of the public interest," and not as " the instrument of this or that private or sectional interest."
3. The essential qualifications for membership to the Board of Managers of the Corporation are competence, and loyalty to public interest.

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4. Public accountability is assured through the appointment and removal of the members of the Board by a responsible Parliamentary Minister, and by the authority of the Minister to require from the industry full information. In Mr. Morrison's opinion the National Government's amendments to the London Transport Bill removing the power of appointment from the Minister of Transport and placing it in "Appointing Trustees" was a "pitiful device," destroying all public accountability for the appointment of the Board.

5. The staff and employees of the Board are not civil servants—appointees of the State—but appointees of the Board in its corporate and commercial capacity. The fixing of salaries is free from Treasury control.

6. The Board is to "have autonomy and freedom of business management" (p. 170).

7. A "Consultative Council" is created for the purpose of providing advice and criticism. The Council is composed of representatives of state departments, local authorities, labour, federation of industries, &c.

It is significant that Mr. Morrison provided that the members of the Board should be appointed solely for their ability to fill the position, and not as the representatives of shareholders or of labour. It is also significant that in doing so Mr. Morrison parted company from his Trade Union colleagues, Messrs. Bevin, Cliff and Clay, who demanded direct labour representation in industrial management. The author in a carefully reasoned discussion, points out the fallacy of the proposal that workmen as such should participate in the management of public corporations. He also rejects the somewhat syndicalistic pronouncement of Mr. Clay: "That in a completely Socialistic State the running of industry would be by the people *within* the industry." Examples taken from the experience of Soviet Russia, in which after trial and failure "workers' control" was discarded, are used by the author with telling effect.

Mr. Morrison's moderation and pragmatic point of view are further revealed by his proposal to socialize industry not by means of confiscation but of compensation. In the case of the London Passenger Transport Bill he provided for compensation, to the holders of ordinary shares, in the form of new Board stock bearing a limited but not guaranteed rate of interest.

One finds aside the book with a profound admiration of the astute and practical statesmanship of Mr. Morrison which succeeded in winning for the essential features of the London Passenger Transport Bill the support of a majority of the Conservative Party members in the House of Commons, and, what appears more difficult, succeeded

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in negotiating with the owners of the important London transport undertakings. Nevertheless, there is no doubt in the reader's mind that, while Lord Ashfield and Mr. Pick, for example, may be administrators first and capitalists afterwards, Mr. Morrison, with all his practical concessions in the interest of business management, is first and always supremely interested in, and devotedly consecrated to, the establishment of a successfully managed socialized industrial order.

O. C. HORMELL.

Whitley Councils in the British Civil Service

By LEONARD D. WHITE, Ph.D. (Cambridge University Press.) 16s. net.

PROFESSOR WHITE'S publishers justly claim that this is "the first extensive description of the inner working of the system of negotiation and arbitration in the British Government." Since Mr. Macrae Gibson wrote his brief sketch of *The Whitley System in the Civil Service* in 1922, three years after its inauguration, no comprehensive survey, historical, descriptive, or critical of the system of Whitley Councils in the Civil Service has appeared.

The gap on the shelves of literature dealing with the machinery of government has not, strangely enough, been filled by a member of a Whitley Council, or even by a close observer of their history and activity, but by a Professor of a University in the United States. It is in fact, a present from Chicago. Those of us whose daily movements for years have been largely devoted to proceeding from one Whitley Council meeting to another do not seem to have had the time, inclination—and probably not the ability—to undertake the self-imposed task so admirably performed by Leonard White.

Some of us had the pleasure of meeting the author during his visits to this country. He evidently made good use of his time. As one who has been closely concerned in every phase and every event of Civil Service Whitleyism for ten years past, I should never have suspected, from reading the book, that the author had attended only one meeting of a Whitley Council in his life, much less that he had gone home to Chicago to write about it.

Professor White deals with his subject in four sections. The first is historical and descriptive and dwells in detail upon the structure and organisation of the negotiating machinery. The second is devoted to a broad outline of Whitleyism at work. Thirdly, he analyses unionism in the Civil Service; and, finally, surveys the whole subject with insight and thoughtfulness. Throughout, there is a good deal of intelligent comment, revealing a lively understanding of the obscurities and complexities of this "contribution of English genius to the state-craft of public administration."

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For every student of public affairs here is a splendid text-book of the inventions of the post-war era "designed to meet the legitimate claims of our organised staff, and to utilise the values inherent in the experience of the rank and file employed to execute the continuing responsibilities of the State."

The bare outline of the history and structure of the Whitley Council system in the Civil Service which I sketched in my Paper for the Northern Regional Group's Conference, 1933 (page 86, &c., January issue of *PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION*), is woven into a comprehensive and fascinating story.

In 1917, when the "War to end War" was being waged in the mud of Flanders and under the merciless sun of the Eastern battlefields the British War Cabinet, with shrewd insight into the psychology of war, created a Ministry of Reconstruction to plan the peace. Apart from all else it was undoubtedly intended to give us something more tangible to fight for than the integrity of Belgium and the Kaiser's neck. The Committee set up under the Chairmanship of Mr. J. H. Whitley on Relations between Employers and Employed was given the task of "inventing ways and means of furthering industrial peace in post-war England." That Committee formulated elaborate schemes of joint industrial councils, each responsible for continuous efforts to adjust the interests of workers and employers in a particular industry. Regular meetings of these bodies were suggested to "consider the better utilisation of the practical knowledge of the workpeople, to secure to them a greater share in and responsibility for working conditions, to settle general principles governing the fixing of wages, to deal with grievances, to promote security of employment, and to consider technical education, industrial research, improvement of processes, and proposed legislation affecting the industry."

And all that was not envisaged for application to the public service, at least not at first. But the Civil Service saw no reason why it should not. It was urged upon the Government that what was deemed by them to be good for private employment was no less suitable for the field of Government employment. The War Cabinet availed themselves of the only way out of that dilemma and on 8th April, 1919, representatives of the Civil Service assembled to hear a pronouncement made on behalf of the Government of the day by none other than the present President of the Institute, Sir Austen Chamberlain, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Civil Service was offered a scheme of "advisory" bodies whose conclusions would on all occasions be subject to veto by Ministers.

Mr. G. H. Stuart Bunning was deputed to state the view of the

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Civil Service representatives concerning the Government's proposals. That view was not favourable. The Civil Service was unwilling to accept a "dictated constitution" for the Whitley Councils. The Government thereupon agreed to confer, and the constitution of the Civil Service Whitley Councils which was ultimately framed was the outcome of agreement between representatives of the Government and of the staff.

The initial hesitation on the part of the Government to apply to the State Service the system of joint councils of employers and employed, which the Whitley Report recommended for application to private industry, and the attempt later to modify the form of the Whitley Councils to be instituted in the Civil Service, arose from the difficulty of following the industrial plan of Whitley Councils without impinging upon the constitutional responsibility and power of the executive in all matters of public expenditure.

Unquestionably, the form of Whitley Council eventually accepted by both the Civil Service and the Government was more satisfactory than the advisory bodies originally proposed. At the same time, however, the complete and final responsibility and power of Ministers was preserved intact. Although decisions of the National Whitley Council "shall be reported to the Cabinet and become operative," no agreement is possible until the Cabinet (or some Minister on its behalf) has given prior approval to a settlement. The Official Side are the representatives of the Government and derive their power from Ministers.

Thus, although the terms of the constitution of the National Whitley Council would imply Ministerial acceptance of agreements come to on their behalf, actually nothing of the kind happens. Ministers decide what agreements they will come to and what disagreements they will register, and their mouthpieces—the Official Side—say what they are told to say. Clearly, the Official Side may not only advise Ministers but influence them in matters of detail and of policy. But the substance of Cabinet responsibility is not diminished in the slightest.

Once that central feature of the Whitley Council system in the Civil Service is appreciated, it enables one to understand the cause of so much feeling about the futility of doing business with agents when there is a strong desire to get to grips with their masters. I am not suggesting that discussions with Ministers in person would produce better results. Few politicians know what they are talking about, especially on matters affecting the Civil Service. But to talk to them across the table would often avoid the sense of frustration which is left after discussion in which the Official Side have "nothing to add" when they have said their piece in accordance with

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Ministerial instructions or, if anything is added, it is merely to promise that "the views of the Staff Side will be conveyed to Ministers." That may, however, be a matter of psychology rather than of business.

The Staff Side has never sought to "pass from negotiation to control," but it wants negotiation. On occasion the Government has failed to use the Whitley machinery at all; on others it has gone through the motions for the sake of appearances, making "negotiation" a sham. Such occurrences have given rise to strong indignation on the part of the Staff Side, because the questions at issue have invariably been of some importance.

Professor White, in his chapter, "A Critique of the Whitley System," makes some shrewd comments regarding the cause of the gradual feeling of disappointment which has crept over the staff of the Civil Service with the work and effectiveness of the National Whitley Council. He says, "until the fall of 1920 Whitleyism was tried out under circumstances of apparent though unreal prosperity. Expenditure was regarded in a relatively light-hearted spirit" Coupled with the reaction within the Service of the popular expectation of better conditions and post-war reconstruction was the heavy accumulation of really important questions awaiting the cessation of hostilities for attention. By the time many reforms had been introduced the rot had set in, and in recent years the time of the National Whitley Council has been spent in futile efforts on the part of the Staff Side to secure further improvements in conditions or in endeavour to resist demands by the Government for the partial sacrifice of previous gains. The author brings his clear observation and understanding to bear upon this development which, as he says, has tended to shift the centre of interest from the National Council, where general issues affecting the whole Service are dealt with, to the Departmental Councils, where much domestic business always offers scope for effective and productive co-operation between the Staff and Official Sides.

After enumerating the advantages and disadvantages of the system of Whitley Councils, from the viewpoint of the Staff and Official Sides respectively, Professor White rightly concludes that "there can be no doubt that by and large the members of the Civil Service regard the Whitley Councils as an extremely valuable asset, the abolition of which they would view with profound concern."

At the same time, I think that there is some danger in present circumstances of Civil Servants ascribing disappointing results to defective machinery, or, at least, of allowing a sense of frustration to breed indifference as to whether the system is wrecked or not. That danger I believe to exist because the Civil Service has so far

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been primarily interested in what it can get out of the Whitley system and has not yet put very much into it. Professor White puts his finger upon the point I have in mind. He says, "The most notable success of the Whitley Councils . . . has been the improvement of the economic status of the staff; the most notable failure, the inability of both sides to attract the interest of the staff into the field of administration in its non-economic aspects." I agree "that it is foolish to expect interest in administrative technique when the very necessities of life are lacking, and the associations and unions would have failed in their obvious duty had they not bent their energy to secure improvements in the economic standing of the Service."

He says that he fails to note many signs of an interest in the conduct of administration except where the machine binds and chafes. Then "the Institute of Public Administration is the outstanding illustration of such an interest, but it is outside the Whitley system."

Professor White does not dwell in his book upon the interesting speculation as to how the fuller utilisation of the Whitley machine for the discussion and solution of administrative problems would affect the work of the Institute. Personally, I think that far from the work of the Institute and that of the Whitley Councils being mutually exclusive or even overlapping in such event, one would be complementary to the other.

Administrative problems suitable for Whitley discussion would necessarily be practical ones. For the most part they would be of only Departmental interest. Thus, the work of the Institute could provide to greater purpose than at present the facilities for the achievement of a thorough grasp of the theory and practice of public administration.

The author of this readable and extremely admirable work maintains his thoughtful interest and clear perception from the first page to the last. His concluding paragraph leads one to put the book aside feeling that although he has said about as much as there is to be said on his subject, he opens up a tremendously interesting field for thought about the future of the Whitley system.

"Progressive evolution of Whitleyism in the future," he says, "would seem to depend upon the answers to two questions. Can significant business be brought steadily before the joint councils year after year, or are they destined to sink upon a descending plane into a morass of trivialities? Can the staff be brought into vital relation to important non-economic problems in British administration, or is the service to centre its thought on wage and salary disputes?"

I am going to be as sensible as Professor White and make no attempt to supply the answers. But they are worth thinking about.

A. L. N. D. HOUGHTON.

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The Government of the Metropolitan Region of Chicago

By MERRIAM, PARRATT and LEPAWSKY. (University of Chicago Press and Cambridge University Press.) xx + 193 pages. 11s.

THIS is an instructive study of governmental agencies in the Metropolitan Region of Chicago, an area with a population of about 5,000,000 persons. The confusion of tongues at Babel pales before the confusion of governments in the Chicago Region. 204 cities and villages, 15 counties, 165 townships, 978 school districts, 70 park districts, 4 forest preserve districts, 11 sanitary districts, 190 drainage districts, 4 mosquito abatement districts, and 1 health district, 1,642 in total, each under a separate authority! Like an eruption of measles, with much less sense. We do not suffer from the disease with the same virulence, but before we jeer let us look around and see whether we also do not require treatment.

The volume gives abundance of information of the confusion, all of interest, and is commendably brief; but when will social researchers contrive means of setting out their laborious findings in more attractive, and also more readily understandable, form? The suggested remedies are considered, in the most interesting part of the volume, both "short time" and "long time" programmes. The most drastic suggestion is the constitution of the Chicago Region as an independent state, and the writers are not unmindful of its heroism.

The volume brings out strikingly the tremendous importance of some sensible solution of the government of metropolitan regions (conurbations, as Patrick Geddes uglily dubbed them; town-masses as they may better be called). In solving that problem we are essentially no more forward than the States or, indeed, any other country. G.

American Agricultural Policy

By PERSIA CRAWFORD CAMPBELL. (London: P. S. King & Son Ltd.) 1933. 10s. 6d. net.

THE difficulties of American agriculture have not aroused much interest in this country, which is the more unfortunate since they have for long provided one of the central problems in American national policy and have recently provoked drastic action by the Federal Government. Miss Campbell's careful study of these developments is particularly opportune, for it describes clearly and in convenient compass the more important features characterising the post-war period. In her first two chapters on "The American Farm" and "Public Aid to Agriculture" she outlines the physical and administrative background of her theme. A more detailed

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account then follows of the efforts which have been made to induce farmers to regulate production and to adopt improved methods of marketing. This part of the book is not merely descriptive, it is presented with some penetrating comments on the many aspects of the problems involved such as crop estimating and economic forecasting. The revolutionary change made by the passage of the Agricultural Marketing Act in June, 1929, the creation of the Federal Farm Board and its endowment with \$500,000,000 of public funds to place agriculture "on an equality with industry" is naturally given considerable attention.

In the interests of conciseness she has rigorously pruned her narrative of all but the essential features of the story. Thus she says correctly that the rate of interest on loans made to the Producers Co-operative Societies by the Farm Board in the discharge of its legal duties to assist them are not to exceed 4 per cent. Actually they may be lower since they are to equal the lowest rate of interest on any government bond issued since April, 1917. It might also have been pointed out that this rate was usually subjected to some addition by intermediaries before it reached the local regional associations. The amplification of details such as this (and of the American Tariff on Agricultural produce and machinery for instance) could usefully have been made if the text of the Act had been reprinted in the appendix.

Merely as a chapter in administrative history an account of the Federal Farm Board has considerable interest. Its chairman declared shortly after his appointment that he had read the Act by which his Board had been formed twenty times without understanding it. That somewhat vague legislative wishes had failed to secure quite the administrative embodiment desired seemed moreover fairly evident in connection with the stabilisation plans by which the Board eventually acquired large stocks of wheat and cotton in an attempt to preserve prices. It seems probable that such steps were forced upon the Board largely through political pressure at a time when catastrophic price declines were producing that panic from which American economic life has not yet recovered.

If Miss Campbell does not give space to topics of this sort it is because she is mainly interested in the problem of agricultural economics with which politicians have attempted to deal. As a contribution to this subject and for the light it sheds on much loose thinking in current discussions of economic planning in agriculture her book is invaluable, and it deserves a wide circulation.

F. R. C.

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Problems of Arkansas Government

Edited by KENNETH O. WARNER, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas. Pp. 59. 50c.

THIS report consists of eight studies of administrative problems in an administratively backward Southern State of the U.S.A., prepared by five members of the staff of the University of Arkansas.

In addition to the illustration it affords of the often valuable co-operation between State Universities and State Governments in the U.S.A., it possesses several points of interest to students of administration elsewhere, despite the fact that some of the contributions (such as the paper on "The Banking Problem") describe conditions to which British experience can offer no current analogy.

The four papers by the editor, Dr. Warner, on "Centralization and Home Rule," which treats the perennial problem of the relations of State to County and Municipality, "Popular Legislation," a review of the workings of the initiative and referendum, "The Reorganization of State Government" and "A Governmental Programme for Arkansas" present in temperate language admirably concise reviews of the wider issues involved in the administrative reform of the State.

The other papers give a more detailed review of County Government, the Control of the Common Schools and Finance and Taxation.

The University of Arkansas is to be congratulated upon the issue of this practical and timely study.

F. R. C.

The Guide to the Law and Administration of the Needs Test

By C. H. EXLEY, Clerk to the Wigan Area Guardians Committee. (Liverpool: Meek, Thomas & Co. Ltd.) 86 pp. 2s. 6d.

MR. EXLEY has added to his *Guide to Poor Relief* a similar guide to the administration of transitional benefit. He recognizes that the Needs Test may be "but an incident in the social history of this country"; but in the meantime history has to be made, and this little book will give the local administrator an adequate guide to the exercise of his temporary (perhaps) duties. The book consists mainly of the statutes, regulations, and circulars in full or in summary according to their practical importance.

W. I. J.

Balanced Employment

By L. S. CHADWICK. (The Macmillan Co., New York.) Pp. 234. 10s. 6d. net.

A RATHER ingenuous book by an American author for curing slumps, booms and unemployment by regulating the hours of labour.

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Other Books Received

Books received include the following:—

| <i>Title.</i> | <i>Author.</i> | <i>Publisher.</i> | <i>Price.</i> |
|--|--|---|---------------|
| Local Government | J. P. R. Maud | Thornton Butterworth Ltd. | 2/6 |
| University Training for the National Service | — | University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis | — |
| England under Queen Anne (Blenheim) | G. M. Trevelyan | Longmans Green & Co. | 21/- |
| England under Queen Anne (Ramillies and the Union with Scotland) | G. M. Trevelyan | Longmans Green & Co. | 21/- |
| The Coming Struggle for Power | John Strachey | Gollancz | 9/- |
| City Manager Year Book 1933 | Edited by C. E. Ridley and O. F. Nulting | International City Managers' Association | \$2 |
| The Crisis of German Democracy | Herbert Kraus | Princeton Univ. Press, Oxford Univ. Press (London) | 15/6 |
| Philosophy and Civilisation | John Dewey | G. P. Putnam | 16/- |
| The Parish Pump | C. Kent Wright | Nicholson & Watson | — |
| Booms and Depressions | Irving Fisher | Allen & Unwin | 8/6 |
| Law Relating to Town and Country Planning | W. Ivor Jennings | Chas. Knight & Co. | 12/6 |
| The Professions | A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson | Oxford, Clarendon Press, H. Milford | 25/- |
| Administrative County Government in South Carolina | Columbus Andrews | University of North Carolina Press and Oxford Univ. Press, England | 15/6 |
| Guide to Poor Relief | C. H. Exley | Meek, Thomas & Co., Liverpool | 6/- |
| Judicial System of Metropolitan Chicago | Albert Lepawsky | U.S.A., University of Chicago Press, Great Britain and Ireland, Cambridge Univ. Press | 18/- |
| Trends in Public Administration | Leonard D. White | McGraw Hill Book Co., New York and London | 24/- |
| Economic Scares | Edwin Cannan | P. S. King & Son | 4/6 |
| Parliament and the Army, 1642-1904 | Lieut.-Colonel J. S. Omond | Cambridge Univ. Press | 10/6 |
| Municipal Year Book, 1933 | Edited by James Forbes | Municipal Journal Ltd., London | — |
| The Machine Unchained | L. Hausleiter | Routledge | 12/6 |
| Capitalism? | Maurice Hely-Hutchinson | Ernest Benn | 5/- |

